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TRAVELS

IN

NORTH AMERICA,

IN THE

YEARS 1827 AND 1828.

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By CAPTAIN BASIL HALL,

ROYAL NAVY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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EDINBURGH:

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PAUL'S WORK, CANONGATE.

PREFACE.

THE chief object I had in view in visiting America was to see things with my own eyes, in order to ascertain, by personal inspection, how far the sentiments prevalent in England with respect to that country were correct or otherwise.

To avoid all undue influence, I considered it best to defer reading the works of preceding travellers, until I should have formed my own opinions on the subject; but I found so much pleasure during the journey, from the freshness of original and unbiassed observation, that on my return I resolved to persevere in this self-denial somewhat longer, that my narrative also might be derived, as far as

possible, from those local sources of information which had fallen within the reach of my own enquiries.

The habits of an active professional life having put it out of my power to study in the closet many of the subjects discussed in these volumes, I have endeavoured, in touching them, to supply the want of reading, by availing myself of a pretty extensive acquaintance with the actual workings of numerous other political and moral experiments, which chance has thrown in my way in different quarters of the globe.

What might have been the effect of combining the experience of others, with the result of my own researches, I cannot pretend to say. On the present occasion, I have merely endeavoured to describe things as I saw them, and to add such reflections as were suggested on the spot, or have since arisen in my mind.

As considerable misconception appears to prevail in England respecting the financial

affairs of the United States, I have taken pains to collect authentic accounts of the Revenue and Expenditure of that country. The details, as far as I have obtained them, are given in a tabular form at the end of the third Volume.

During the journey, I had opportunities of making some sketches with the Camera Lucida, an instrument invented by the late Dr Wollaston. But I have thought it best, instead of encumbering this work with drawings of such slender pretensions, to publish, in a separate form, a selection of those which appeared most characteristic.

I beg leave, before parting, to say one word to my kind friends on the other side of the Atlantic.

I have studiously avoided mentioning circumstances, or even making allusions, calculated to give pain to any person; and although I dare scarcely hope that my account will be very popular in America, I shall deeply lament having written on the subject at all, if

these pages shall be thought to contain a single expression inconsistent with the gratitude, which, in common with my family, I must ever feel for the attention and hospitality we received from the Americans, or with the hearty good-will we bear to every individual whom we met with in their widely extended country.

EDINBURGH, 15*th June*, 1829.

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MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES
AND
Canada
CAPT.ⁿ HALE'S
1827 & 1828.

TRAVELS

IN

THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

On Tuesday morning the 17th of April 1827, I embarked at Liverpool, with my wife and child, on board the good ship Florida, whereof Mr John Tinkham was master, and sailed for America, with a light fair wind, which carried us about one third of the way across the Atlantic. And at sunset on the 15th of May, after a voyage of twenty eight days, we passed Sandy Hook Light-House, at the entrance of the harbour of New York.

The proper day of sailing from England, according to the regulations of the weekly packets, was the 16th of the month; but owing to some difficulty about collecting the crew, we lost twenty-four precious hours, at the commencement of an easterly wind. Another ship, however, better prepared, warped out of the dock, proceeded to sea on that day, and by this apparently

trivial advantage, contrived to get into what seamen call a vein of wind, and arrived nine days before us: thus showing that in nautical, as well as in other matters, it is well to take time by the forelock; a lesson we resolved to profit by in our future journey.

It was quite dark before the ship was brought to an anchor, off the town of New York, so that we missed seeing the beauties of the approach, described to us in terms of great rapture by some of the passengers, to whom the scene was not new. In strictness, it was not altogether new to me; for I had gone over the same ground some two or three-and-twenty years before, when a midshipman of the Leander, Flag-ship of the Halifax station. But my recollections were so vague and indistinct, and every thing appeared so much altered, that I could scarcely recognise at first many objects, which, after a little time, were revived, or seemed to be revived, in my memory, where they must have slept for nearly a quarter of a century.

I had reason to fancy, however, that a still more important change had taken place in my feelings, with respect to the country I was revisiting. And it is perhaps right to state, thus early, what were my sentiments and opinions at these two distant periods.

In former days, I confess I was not very well disposed to the Americans; a feeling shared with all my companions on board, and probably also with most of my superiors. But as the duties of a varied service, in after years, threw me far from the source at which these national antipathies had been imbibed, they appeared gradually to dissipate themselves, in proportion as my acquaintance with other countries was extended, and I had learned to think better of mankind in general. Thus, in process of time, I came to view with regret the prevalence in others of those hostile sentiments I had myself relinquished. My next anxiety naturally was, to persuade others, that there really were no just grounds for the mutual hostility so manifestly existing between America and England. To speak more correctly, I could not help believing, that, in spite of the great differences in the geographical and political situation of the two countries, there must still be so many circumstances in which they agreed, that if the merits of both were respectively explained, there would spring up more cordiality between them; a state of things which I took it for granted must be advantageous to both countries.

These speculative views, were further confirmed by the report of the Americans I met with from time to time, all of whom gave the most animating

and unqualified praise to their country and its institutions; accompanied, invariably, by vehement denunciations against the whole race of travellers, whose statements they represented as being, without exception, false and slanderous, and consequently, as doing their country no justice. So much, indeed, was I persuaded of the truth of these statements, that, from a desire to think well of the country, I avoided reading any of the Travels in question, and rather chose to form my opinions mainly from the accounts of the Americans themselves.

At length, on the occurrence of an interval of professional leisure, I resolved to investigate this interesting subject for myself; for I found very few people in England of my way of thinking. Accordingly I set out for America, with the confident expectation, not only of finding ample materials for justifying these favourable impressions adopted from the Americans, but of being able, by a fair statement of the facts of the case, to soften in some degree the asperity of that ill-will, of which it was impossible to deny the existence, and which was looked upon by many persons in both countries as a serious international evil.

Probably, therefore, there seldom was a traveller who visited a foreign land in a more kindly spirit. I was really desirous of seeing every thing,

relating to the people, country, and institutions, in the most favourable light; and was resolved to use my best endeavours to represent to my countrymen what was good, in colours which might incline them to think the Americans more worthy of regard and confidence, than they generally were esteemed in England. It was also part of my project, if possible, to convince the Americans themselves, that the English were willing to think well of them, and were sincerely anxious to be on good terms, if they could only see just grounds for a change of sentiment. Such were the hopes and wishes with which I landed in America.

A thousand years would not wipe out the recollection of our first breakfast at New York. At eight o'clock we hurried from the packet, and though certainly I most devoutly love the sea, which has been my home for more than half my life, I must honestly acknowledge having leaped on shore with a light heart, after four weeks of confinement. Few naval officers, I suspect, be they ever so fond of their business afloat, ever come to relish another ship, after commanding one of their own.

The Florida, our good packet, during the night had been drawn alongside of the wharf, so that we had nothing more to do than step on shore,

stow ourselves into a hackney coach, and drive off. This carriage was of the nicest description, open both in front, and at the sides, and was drawn by small, sleek, high-bred horses, driven by a mulatto, whose broken lingo reminded me of the West Indies.

As we passed along, many things recalled the seaports of England to my thoughts, although abundant indications of another country lay on all hands. The signs over the shop doors were written in English; but the language we heard spoken was different in tone from what we had been accustomed to. Still it was English. Yet there was more or less of a foreign air in all we saw, especially about the dress and gait of the men. Negroes and negresses also were seen in abundance on the wharfs. The form of most of the wheeled carriages was novel; and we encountered several covered vehicles, on which was written in large characters, ICE. I was amused by observing over one of the stores, as the shops are called, a great, staring, well-wigged figure painted on the sign, under which was written, Lord Eldon. A skinny row of white law books explained the mystery. The whole seemed at times, more like a dream than a sober reality. For there was so much about it that looked like England, that we half fancied ourselves back again;

and yet there was quite enough to show in the next instant, that it was a very different country. This indistinct, dreamy kind of feeling, lasted for several days; after which it gradually faded away before a different set of impressions, which will be described in their turn.

But I am quite forgetting the glorious breakfast! We had asked merely for some fresh shad, a fish reported to be excellent, as indeed it proved. But a great steaming, juicy beefsteak, also made its appearance, flanked by a dish of mutton cutlets. The Shad is a native of the American waters, I believe exclusively, and if so, it is almost worthy of a voyage across the Atlantic to make its acquaintance. To these viands were added a splendid arrangement of snow-white rolls, regiments of hot toast, with oceans of tea and coffee. I have not much title, they tell me, to the name of gourmand, or epicure; nevertheless, I do frankly plead guilty to having made upon this occasion a most enormous breakfast; as if resolved to make up at one unconscionable meal, the eight-and-twenty preceding unsatisfactory diurnal operations of this nature, which had intervened since our leaving the good cheer of Liverpool. No ship, indeed, could be more bountifully supplied than our packet; but, alas for the sea! manage it as you will, the contrast between it and the shore, I am sorry to say, is

very great. Nothing but shame, I suspect, prevented me from exhausting the patience of the panting waiters, by further demands for toast, rolls, and fish; and I rose at last with the hungry edge of appetite taken off, not entirely blunted. The luxury of silver forks and spoons, Indian china tea-cups, a damask table-cloth, in rooms free from any close, tarry, pitchy, remainder-biscuit smell, space to turn about in, soft seats to loll upon, and firm ground on which to stand, with the addition of the aforesaid magnificent meal, formed altogether, whether from contrast or from intrinsic excellence, as lively a picture of Mahomet's sensual paradise as could be imagined.

In the course of the morning I walked to the Custom House with a very obliging person for whom I had brought letters; and it is due to the public functionaries of that establishment to say, that I do not remember having been more civilly treated in the teasing matter of trunks and boxes, in any one of the numerous countries in which I have had to undergo the tormenting ordeal of being overhauled. My friend merely stated, that I came to America as a traveller, without any view to trade, and that the luggage specified in the list contained nothing but wearing apparel. A few magical words were then written by the collector to the examining officer, upon producing which

every thing was permitted to pass in the most agreeable style possible, so that not a fold of any part of our finery was disturbed, or even looked at.

It affords me great pleasure to have it in my power to state, that in our subsequent long and varied journey, we always met with the same obliging disposition on the part of the public officers. I can say the same thing of most of the other persons to whom we had occasion to apply for assistance—due allowance being made for those differences of manners, and of habits, incident to the various degrees of civilization with which we chose, of our own free will, to bring ourselves in contact.

We soon found there were different modes of living at the great hotels in New York. An immense table d'hôte was laid every day at three o'clock, for guests who did not lodge in the house, but merely took their meals there. I have seen from sixty to an hundred persons seated at one of those tables. There was also a smaller and less public dinner for the boarders in the house. If any of these persons, however, chose to incur the additional expense of a private parlour, which was about two dollars, or nine shillings a day extra, they might have their meals separately.

On the 17th of May, at eight o'clock, which is the breakfast hour at New York, we went down to the room where the other lodgers were already assem-

bled to the number of twelve or fourteen. Our main object was to get acquainted with some of the natives, and this, we imagined, would be the easiest thing in the world. But our familiar designs were all frustrated by the imperturbable silence and gravity of the company. At dinner, which was at three o'clock, we were again baffled by the same cold and civil but very unsociable formality. All attempts to set conversation in motion proved abortive; for each person seemed intent exclusively on the professed business of the meeting, and having dispatched, in all haste, what sustenance was required, and in solemn silence, rose and departed. It might have been thought we had assembled rather for the purpose of inhuming the body of some departed friend, than of merrily keeping alive the existing generation.

A young American naval officer, with whom I had formed a most agreeable and useful friendship, was good enough to accompany me after breakfast to the dock-yard, or, as it is more correctly called, the navy-yard—for there are no docks in America—at Brooklyn on Long Island. We had to cross two ferries in the course of the day, in double or twin-boats, worked by steam, with the paddle-wheel in the centre. The most curious thing I saw during this agreeable ramble, was a floating wharf, made of wood, the inner end of which was

attached to the edge of the quay, by means of strong hinges, while the outer end, supported on a large air vessel, or float, rose and sunk with the tide. At high water the wharf stood on a level with the shore; but when it fell, the surface of the wharf had a considerable inclination, though not more than could be easily overcome by the carriages and carts, which drove in and out of the ferry-boat at all times, with nearly equal facility.

The officers of the navy-yard were most kind and attentive, and showed every thing I wished to see, without the slightest reserve, and with such entire frankness, that I felt no scruple in examining the whole establishment. Amongst other things, I of course visited the great steam-frigate, the Fulton, intended, I believe, as a floating battery for the defence of New York. This singular vessel is of the double construction, with a paddle-wheel in the middle, placed beyond the reach of shot. The machinery is also secured in like manner, by a screen of oak, independently of the ship's bends or sides, which are five feet in thickness, formed of successive layers of thick planks, disposed alternately lengthwise and vertically. This wooden wall affords a defence, as I am told by engineers, not pervious even to a cannon-shot fired at point blank distance. I afterwards went over several line-of-battle ships and frigates, most of them constructed

of live oak, a timber which grows only in the southern states, and is admirably suited to such purposes, from its durability and strength.

I called in the course of the morning on Mr De Witt Clinton, the governor of the State of New York. I was no less surprised than pleased with the affability of his manners, and the obliging interest he took in my journey; for I had happened to hear him described only by persons opposed to him in politics, and I had not yet learnt to distrust such reports of men so distinguished in public life as the late Mr Clinton. He offered me introductions to various parts of the country, and undertook to assist my researches; a promise which he fulfilled to the very hour of his death, about a year afterwards.

The high personal esteem I felt for Mr Clinton, and the respect in which, in common with so many of his countrymen, and all strangers who had the advantage of his acquaintance, I must ever hold his memory, induce me to make an exception to the rule I have laid down, not to mention by name, or by personal allusion, any of my private friends in America. It is very true, there is often considerable difficulty, as well as inconvenience, in adhering to this restriction, and often much loss perhaps, on the score of authority. I have, however, seen, in the course of my life, so much pain caused

by the intrusive nature of such remarks, whether of praise or of censure, that I think it best, in order to avoid all cause of offence, to say nothing, direct or indirect, which can implicate personally any one with whom I have made acquaintance in America. My observations, therefore, whether laudatory or otherwise, I have confined as much as possible to those broad features which characterise the country generally.

It is difficult to adhere to this prudent rule, without at the same time neglecting one of the duties of a traveller, at least if any description of manners is expected at his hands. For how is he to furnish his pictures of society without going into company, and by reporting what he sees there, acting more or less the ungenerous part of a spy? The Americans, indeed, assured me again and again, that they had no sort of objection to this scrutiny, provided it were made with fairness and due allowances for them, and the results reported without flippancy, or sarcasm, or odious and wanton comparisons. As a proof of their sincerity, they not unfrequently urged me to speak fairly out in their presence, and to give my opinions fully upon all I saw, public and private. The question, "What do you think of us upon the whole?" was accordingly put to me every day, and almost in every company. But I am sorry that truth compels

me to add, that whenever the reply which this abrupt and rather startling question elicited, was not one of unqualified praise, a certain painful degree of dissatisfaction was produced. My reason for being sorry is, that it prevents me from writing with the freedom which might be used in treating of any other country, in none of which does there exist such an excessive, and universal sensitiveness as to the opinions entertained of them by the English. It may be remarked in passing, that they appear to care less for what is said of them by other foreigners; but it was not until I had studied this curious feature in the American character long and attentively, and in all parts of their country, that I came to a satisfactory explanation of it.

With respect to any notice of public affairs, or even to those broad characteristics of domestic manners, which lie fairly open to every man's observation, there need be no scruples, because I have reason to believe that no sensible American will find fault with this. He may think me quite wrong, or much prejudiced; but I shall take good care to prevent its being said with truth, that I have betrayed any confidence. And, at all events, whatever may be thought or felt in consequence of my strictures, of this I am sure, that every American I conversed with, will do me the justice to recol-

lect that I have not held one language in his country, and another in my own; for every word I now publish to the world, I have repeatedly and openly spoken in company in all parts of the United States. Or, if there be any difference between the language I there used in conversation, and that in which I now write, I am sure it will not be found to consist in overstatement, but rather the contrary.

It often occasioned me much regret to witness the disappointment I was causing, by this absence of reserve on every subject whereupon I was interrogated. It will also be in the recollection of many of my friends in America, that when I expressed my doubts and fears as to the expediency of speaking out in this way, they always strenuously urged me to continue the same frankness throughout the journey; assuring me, that their countrymen, however national, and however fond of their institutions, would much prefer hearing them openly attacked to their faces, than insidiously commended, till a more convenient season should arrive for reprobating what they held dear. Accordingly, I took them at their word, and persevered throughout the journey, and never once qualified or disguised my sentiments. And here I must do the Americans the justice to say, that they invariably took my remarks in good part,

though my opinions, I could see, were often not very flattering. I should fain hope, therefore, that a similar spirit of candour will now meet with equal indulgence, when more deliberately expressed, in strict accordance with their own repeated injunctions, that I should state matters exactly as they appeared to me.

I have no motive, and can have no motive, to misrepresent things in America; still less to wound the feelings of any person in a country where I was received with such uniform kindness and hospitality, and towards which, as a nation, I undoubtedly felt the greatest good-will on first landing. If I no longer feel altogether as I did towards that country, the change is accompanied by far more sorrow than any other feeling; and the reluctance with which I now take up my pen to trace the gradual destruction of my best hopes on the subject, is most sincere, and such as nothing short of a conviction of its being a duty to my own country could overcome. In what this duty consists will be seen in the sequel; and though at this moment I scarcely hope to receive much, if any sympathy, in America, the time must one day come, when, if I be right, that sympathy will be cordially granted me.

I have thought it best, thus early, to enter a protest, as it may be called, against the charge of

my writing with any thing approaching to malice prepense against America. I tell simply what I conscientiously believe to be the truth; of course, not the whole truth; but assuredly nothing but the truth, and without the slightest shade of ill-will to any mortal, in that country, or indeed without any thing but good-will to the nation generally, except what may spring from differences of opinion on public grounds.

Be all this, however, as it may, we were greatly flattered by the kindness of our reception at New York; and I only regretted that my abstemious habits did so little justice, in return, to the goodly suppers of oyster-soup, ham, salads, lobsters, ices, and jellies, to say nothing of the champagne, rich old Madeira, fruits, and sweetmeats, and various other good things, which were handed round at all the parties with little intermission, in a style truly hospitable and liberal.

It is often useful in travelling, to record at the instant those trivial but peculiar circumstances, which first strike the eye of a stranger, since, in a short time, they become so familiar as entirely to escape attention. On this principle, I amused myself one morning by noting down a few of the signs over the shop doors. The following may, perhaps, interest some people.

FLOUR AND FEED STORE—CHEAP STORE—CLOTHING STORE—CAKE STORE AND BAKERY—WINE AND TEA STORE, all explain themselves. LEATHER AND FINDING STORE, puzzled me at first. I learned, upon inquiry, that finding means the tape and other finishings of shoes and boots. UNCURRENT NOTES BOUGHT, required investigation likewise. It seems that of late years many town and country banks had failed, or fallen into such bad repute, that their notes were not held as good payment by the generality of people; while other persons, knowing exactly how the case stood, were enabled to turn their knowledge to account, and thus to make a profit by buying up the depreciated paper.

LIBERTY STREET—AMOS STREET—THIRTY-FIRST STREET—AVENUE A, are all more or less characteristic. The following is a literal copy of the sign before the inn door at Brooklyn, all the places named being on Long Island.

COE S. DOWLING'S STAGE
& LIVERY STABLE.
HORSES AND CARRIAGES TO BE LET.

FLAT BUSH AND BATH—HEMPSTEAD—JERUSALEM—HEMPSTEAD HARBOUR—COW NECK—WESTBURY—MOSQUETOE COVE—JERICHO—OYSTER BAY—HUNTINGTON—EASTWOODS—DIXHILL—BABYLON and ISLIP, STAGE HOUSE.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 20th of May, I was awakened by loud cries of Fire! fire! and started out of bed, half dreaming that we were still at sea, and the packet in flames. In a few minutes the deep rumbling sound of the engines was heard, mingled in a most alarming way with the cheers of the firemen, the loud rapping of the watchmen at the doors and window-shutters of the sleeping citizens, and various other symptoms of momentous danger, and the necessity of hot haste.

So much had been said to me of the activity and skill of the New York firemen, that I was anxious to see them in actual operation; and accordingly, having dressed myself quickly, I ran down stairs. Before I reached the outer-door, however, the noise had wellnigh ceased; the engines were trundling slowly back again, and the people grumbling, not without reason, at having been dragged out of bed to no purpose. Of this number I certainly was one, but more from what I had lost seeing than from any other cause.

I was scarcely well asleep again, before a second and far more furious alarm, brought all the world to the windows. The church bells were clanging violently on all hands, and the ear could readily catch, every now and then, a fresh sound chiming in with the uproar with much musical discord, and all speaking in tones of such vehemence

as satisfied me that now there would be no disappointment.

On opening the street door, I saw in the east a tall column of black smoke, curling and writhing across the cold morning sky, like a great snake attempting to catch the moon, which, in her last quarter, was moving quietly along, as if careless of the increasing tumult which was fast spreading over the city.

On the top of the City Hall, one of the finest of the numerous public buildings which adorn New York, a fire-warden or watchman is constantly stationed, whose duty when the alarm is given, is to hoist a lantern at the extremity of a long arm attached to the steeple, and to direct it towards the fire, as a sort of beacon, to instruct the engines what course to steer. There was something singularly striking in this contrivance, which looked as if a great giant, with a blood-red finger, had been posted in the midst of the city, to warn the citizens of their danger.

I succeeded by quick running in getting abreast of a fire engine; but although it was a very ponderous affair, it was dragged along so smartly by its crew of some six-and-twenty men, aided by a whole legion of boys, all bawling as loud as they could, that I found it difficult to keep up with them. On reaching the focus of attraction, the crowd of

curious persons like myself began to thicken, while the engines came dashing in amongst us from every avenue, in the most gallant and business-like style.

Four houses, built entirely of wood, were on fire from top to bottom, and sending up a flame that would have defied a thousand engines. But nothing could exceed the dauntless spirit with which the attempt was made. In the midst of a prodigious noise and confusion, the engines were placed along the streets in a line, at the distance of about two hundred feet from one another, and reaching to the bank of the East River, as that inland sea is called, which lies between Long Island and the main. The suction hose of the last engine in the line, or that next the stream, being plunged into the river, the water was drawn up, and then forced along a leathern hose or pipe to the next engine, and so on, till at the tenth link in this curious chain, it came within range of the fire. As more engines arrived, they were marshalled by the superintendent into a new string; and in about five minutes after the first stream of water had been brought to bear on the flames, another was sucked along in like manner, and found its way, leap by leap, to the seat of the mischief.

I moved about amongst the blazing houses till driven back by the police, who laboured hard to clear the ground for the firemen alone. On re-

tiring reluctantly from this interesting scene, I caught a glimpse of a third jet of water playing away upon the back part of the fire; and on going round to that quarter, discovered that these energetic people had formed a third series, consisting of seven engines, reaching to a different bend of the river, down some alley, and not quite so far off.

The chief things to find fault with on this occasion, were the needless shouts and other uproarious noises, which obviously helped to exhaust the men at the engines, and the needless forwardness, or it may be called fool-hardiness, with which they entered houses on fire, or climbed upon them by means of ladders, when it must have been apparent to the least skilful person, that their exertions were utterly hopeless. A small amount of discipline, of which, by the way, there was not a particle, might have corrected the noise; and the other evil, I think, might have been removed, by a machine recently invented in Edinburgh, and found to be efficacious on like occasions.

At the request of a Committee of the Fire Department, I afterwards explained this simple and excellent device. It consists of a lofty triangle, as it is called, formed by three long poles joined at top, and carrying a socket, through which passes the nozzle or spout of a pipe connected with an engine below. By means of guys, or directing

lines, this spout may be raised, lowered, or turned to the right or left. By means also of a proper adjustment of the legs, two of which may be brought close to the wall of the burning house, and the third pushed either backwards or forwards, a solid stream of water can be directed, in its unbroken state, full upon the timbers of a blazing roof, or it may be spouted into a room on fire, not only without danger to the firemen, but with much greater precision and effect than by the ordinary methods, which generally have the effect of scattering the water in a shower over the flames, to no purpose.

The committee listened very attentively to my lecture, and inspected the drawings made to illustrate what was said. But I had the mortification, five months afterwards, to see three fine houses burned to the ground, two of which might have been saved, as an old fireman assured me on the spot, had this contrivance been introduced.

As I naturally ascribed this indifference to the proposed plan, to some want of distinctness in these descriptions, I lost no time in writing home for a model of the whole apparatus, which I received just before leaving America, and left with a friend, to be presented to the Fire Department of New York. I hope they may find it useful in that city, which seems to be more plagued with

fires than any town in the world; and I shall be happy if they will do me the kindness to permit copies or drawings of it to be made for any other parts of the Union, in which this account may happen to excite interest.

Under the guidance of one of the most benevolent and public-spirited men in America, we visited one day the House of Refuge for juvenile delinquents,—an excellent institution in every respect. Its object is to furnish an asylum for such young offenders as may either be released from prison, or would, in the regular course of law, be sent there. For a time, therefore, the morals of these boys are exempted from the corruption of evil communication, and they have a fair chance given them for future virtue. They are taught habits of regular industry, are instructed in some useful profession, and above all are carefully trained to know and to feel the value of piety, and consequently of virtue on its own account.

After a certain period of probation and discipline, bodily and mental, these youths are bound out as apprentices to tradespeople, who, it is curious and most important to know, are generally well pleased to have them. This, at all events, is very complimentary to the establishment. If, however, the masters or the parents of the youths have reason to believe their reformation not yet complete, they

are at liberty to send the lads back again; and in order to give due effect to this arrangement, the committee of management are in constant correspondence with the parties under whose care the boys are placed.

The immediate superintendence of the establishment was, at the time we visited it, in the hands of a clergyman of the Methodist persuasion. I was at a loss which to be most pleased with, the patience and clear-headed sagacity of this amiable person, or the mixed gentleness and decision of his deportment, which appeared to attract the confidence of the boys, without diminishing, on their part, that respectful and prompt obedience absolutely essential to the good order of such a community. It must require a compact union of good feeling and good sense, and, I may add, of good temper, and right principles, to make up the character of a perfect jailor schoolmaster.

We also visited a similar, though not so numerous, an establishment for girls. It seemed to be managed with equal care; and I may say of both, that I have rarely seen in any country institutions containing less admixture of speculative quackery, or better calculated to remedy acknowledged evils, by getting at their source and checking their growth. A bounty on virtue, in short, is offered to these young people, by showing them, while their tastes,

and habits are yet ductile, the practical advantages of good conduct.

Neither do I consider it the least of the merits of this system, as applicable to America in particular, that a certain amount of dependence on others, and a consequent distrust of themselves, is urged as a duty upon the earliest reflections of these young people. Because, however necessary these lessons may be thought to their well-being in after life, they certainly would have little chance of being taught such doctrines anywhere in the United States, beyond the walls of the House of Refuge.

On our return to the city, we visited the High School, the principle of which is professedly taken from the institution of the same name in Edinburgh. The monitorial plan has been retained, with two considerable differences. To each of the classes or divisions which consists I think of ten boys, there are two monitors not one as in Edinburgh. One of these is employed in the strict monitorial office of teaching and superintending the boys of his division; the other is engaged, in a separate apartment, not teaching but being taught. Thus while one set of the monitors are engaged in communicating to their several divisions the lessons taught them by the master the day before, the other, or second set of monitors, formed into a separate class, are receiving a dose

of instruction, which it will become their duty to impart to their divisions the next day.

The object of this system, as far as I understand it, is to carry on matters faster than by the common method, which, it is said by the advocates of this double plan, has a tendency to keep back the monitors, who are made drudges to bring on the dunces, at a dead loss to themselves. I am not sufficiently familiar with such matters to say how this may be; but I suspect that, like most complications in machinery, moral as well as mechanical, the loss by unsteadiness and want of uniformity of purpose, will more than counteract the additional gain of power.

We then visited the High School for girls. There was here no general class, the whole being divided into sets of ten, including a monitor. Nothing could be more quiet, neat, or orderly, than this establishment. After the usual routine of exhibiting, the mistress asked me to select some piece for one of the classes to read. I chose Campbell's Hohenlinden. On being asked my opinion as to how they exhibited, I merely said the girls read with a good deal of expression and feeling. But I suppose there was something in my tone which did not quite satisfy the good schoolmistress; for she urged me to criticise any thing I disapproved of.

"Pray," said I, "is it intended that the girls

should pronounce the words according to the received usage in England, or according to some American variation in tone or emphasis?"

"Oh yes, certainly," cried she; "we take Walker as our standard; and I trust—indeed I am sure, you don't hear any thing to object to on the score of pronunciation in my girls; we take particular care of that. Pray mention it, sir, if you think otherwise." Thus appealed to, I could not resist saying, that in England the word combat was pronounced as if the *o* in the first syllable were written *u*, cumbat; and that instead of saying *sh*ivalry, the *ch* with us was sounded hard, as in the word chin; and that I believed the dictionary alluded to would bear me out in this.

"Oh yes, sir, perhaps he may give these words in that way; but we don't altogether follow Walker. And, for my part," said the mistress, bridling a little, "I shall certainly continue to use, and to teach my pupils to say *c*ombat and *sh*ivalry."

I attempted, idly enough perhaps, to show that a standard if it were good for any thing, was good for all things; and, in order to soften this dictum, mentioned that we poor Scotch folks yielded up our opinions implicitly on all such points to the English.

But the worthy lady's answer was, "You in

Scotland may do as you like, but we Americans have a perfect right to pronounce our words as we please."

I shrugged my shoulders, and said no more, of course; but was much amused afterwards by observing, that when one of the girls of the class in question, a little sprightly, wicked-looking, red-haired lassie, came in turn to read the poem, she gave to both the words their true interdicted pronúnciation. She herself did not dare to look up, while guilty of this piece of insubordination; but I could see each of the other girls peeping archly out of the corners of their eyes in the direction of the mistress, anticipating, probably, a double dose of good counsel afterwards for their pains.

By far the most interesting school, however, which we saw in the course of this busy day, was one for the education of Negro and Mulatto children. Poor little wretches! their whole souls—if, as Uncle Toby says, they have souls—were thrown into their lessons; and it was delightful to see them under the guidance of a man, whose particular hobby was to teach blacks; and who had devoted many years of his life exclusively to this subject. I was led to think he had a better taste in teaching than some other persons we had seen in the course of the morning; for when one of the little quaminos, in answer to some question, made

use of a common English vulgarism, and said, "The book is laying there," the master called out, "What! do you mean that the book is laying eggs?"

We naturally begged to know whether or not he had discovered any material difference in the intellectual powers of the blacks and whites at these schools. His answer was, that up to a certain age, that is to say, as long as they were little children, there was no difference perceptible. As they played about together, and studied together, the blacks were not made to feel any of those distinctions by which in after life their spirits were sure to be crushed down. I was told, that even in the state of New York, where negro slavery has been abolished by law, a black man meets with no real and effective sympathy on the part of the white lords of the creation. Consequently, let a negro be ever so industrious or well-informed, still he seems stamped for degradation, and thus has little or no fair chance amongst the whites, who will neither trust him, nor allow of his trusting them. Thus mutual confidence, which is the most important link of civil society, is broken; and when that is the case, there remains, I fear, no other method of attaching to its interests a class so circumstanced, between whom and the whites all fellow-feeling is inevitably prevented from growing up.

On the 21st of May, I accompanied two gentlemen, about three o'clock, to a curious place called the Plate House, in the very centre of the business part of the busy town of New York.

We entered a long, narrow, and rather dark room, or gallery, fitted up like a coffeehouse, with a row of boxes on each side made just large enough to hold four persons, and divided into that number by fixed arms limiting the seats. Along the passage, or avenue, between the rows of boxes, which was not above four feet wide, were stationed sundry little boys, and two waiters, with their jackets off—and good need too, as will be seen. At the time we entered, all the compartments were filled except one, of which we took possession. There was an amazing clatter of knives and forks; but not a word audible to us was spoken by any of the guests. This silence, however, on the part of the company, was amply made up for by the rapid vociferations of the attendants, especially of the boys, who were gliding up and down, and across the passage, inclining their heads for an instant first to one box, then to another, and receiving the whispered wishes of the company, which they straightway bawled out in a loud voice, to give notice of what fare was wanted. It quite baffled my comprehension to imagine how the people at the upper end of the room, by whom a communica-

tion was kept up in some magical way with the kitchen, could contrive to distinguish between one order and another. It was still more marvellous that within a few seconds after our wishes had been communicated to one of the aforesaid urchins, imps, gnomes, or whatever name they deserve, the things we asked for were placed piping hot before us. It was really quite an Arabian Night's Entertainment, not a sober dinner at a chop-house.

The sole object of the company evidently was to get through a certain quantum of victuals with as much dispatch as possible; and as all the world knows that talking interferes with eating, every art was used in this said most excellent Plate House, to utter as few words as might be, and only those absolutely essential to the ceremony.

In giving the order to the sprites flitting about us, we had merely to name the dish wanted, which they conjured to the table, either in a single portion or plateful, or in any other quantity, according to the number of the party. If a farther supply were wanted, a half or a whole plateful was whispered for, and straightway it was laid before us. We had been told by old stagers of the excellence of the corned beef, and said to the boy we should all three take that dish. Off the gnome glanced from us like a shot, to attend to the beck of another set of guests, on the opposite side of the

room; but, in flying across the passage, turned his face towards the upper end of the apartment and called out, "Three beef, 8!" the last word of his sentence referring to the number of our box. In a trice we saw the waiters gliding down the avenue to us, with three sets of little covered dishes, each containing a plate, on which lay a large, piping hot slice of beef. Another plate was at the same time given, with a moderate proportion of mashed potatoes on it, together with a knife, and a fork on which was stuck a piece of bread. As the waiters passed along, they took occasion to incline their ears to the right and to the left, to receive fresh orders, and also to snatch up empty tumblers, plates, and knives and forks. The multiplicity and rapidity of these orders and movements made me giddy. Had there been one set to receive and forward the orders, and another to put them in execution, we might have seen better through the confusion; but all hands, little and big together, were screaming out with equal loudness and quickness —"Half plate beef, 4!—"One potato, 5!"—"Two apple pie, one plum pudding, 8!" and so on.

There could not be, I should think, fewer than a dozen boxes, with four people in each; and as every one seemed to be eating as fast as he could, the extraordinary bustle may be conceived. We were not in the house above twenty minutes, but

we sat out two sets of company at least. The bill, reduced to English money, was nine shillings and sixpence in all, or three shillings and twopence each.

There may be, for aught I know, hundreds of such places in London, Liverpool, and elsewhere in England; but travelling, it is said, opens the eyes, and teaches people to see things which, in the ordinary jog-trot of life, they would either despise, or be too busy for, or never hear about at all, or take no pains to visit if they did hear of them.

On the 22d of May, I went to the Supreme Court of the State, in expectation of hearing a speech from Mr Emmett, a distinguished counsellor. In this I was disappointed; but there was much to interest notwithstanding. Amongst other things, it was curious to hear one of the lawyers quote a recent English decision. The Chief Justice and two judges were on the bench; but I must say, that the absence of the wigs and gowns took away much more from their dignity than I had previously supposed possible. Perhaps I was the more struck with this omission, as it was the first thing I saw which made me distrust the wisdom with which the Americans had stripped away so much of what had been held sacred so long. Apparent trifles such as these ought never, I think, to be measured by their individual importance, but in fairness to the subject

should be taken in connexion with myriads of associations, all combining to steady our habits, to let us know distinctly what we are about, and thus to give us confidence in one another, which after all is the real source of power and happiness in a state.

On leaving the court, we perambulated the different parts of the City Hall, a building of some extent and beauty, of which the principal part is built of a coarse-grained white marble, with a tower made of wood, and painted to match, as the ladies say, on the top. This we climbed up to, in order to have a survey of the city, the extent of which, as well as its beauty, had been rung in our ears by the inhabitants, every day since we landed. The sight, I am free to admit, substantiated most of the fine things we had been told, but undoubtedly we should have valued them more, and acknowledged them with less reserve, had we not been so much urged upon the subject. These taxes upon a traveller's admiration, like other taxes, are never very cheerfully paid; and the people of every country would do well to recollect, that in this matter, whatever it be in finance, a voluntary contribution, however small, goes for much more than any amount of extorted approbation. The expression of heartfelt and unexacted praise, like the quality of mercy, is twice blessed, being equally grate-

ful to him that gives and him that takes. But in the other case, whatever a traveller's real opinions may be, he feels when praise is thus strained from him, pretty much as he would do if he should find his pocket picked by the beggar who was soliciting his charity.

From the city hall, though it rained hard, we stepped across to an exhibition of pictures. But I am sorry to say, we were not repaid for our draggled clothes and soaking feet, by what we saw there. Most of the pictures were flat, cold, and woodeny. In another gallery were placed, some excellent casts, and several exotic works of art, very few of which were worth looking at. I certainly do not except two by West, that most formal of all painters. The same taste, or rather want of taste, which leads the Americans to tolerate foreign rubbish, must circumscribe the efforts of that native genius which unquestionably exists, and would be called to the surface if by any means the standard of excellence could be elevated, and when so raised, could be maintained by the influence of wealth regulated by genuine feeling, by vanity, or by knowledge, or by mere fashion, or by all combined. How far this is probable, or even possible, as matters stand in that country, is very questionable.

No such misgivings, however, as those above hinted at, were expressed in a learned address

which we heard delivered the next day in the Hall of Colombia College, on the subject of the fine arts. The orator made out to his own satisfaction, and apparently to that of his audience, that America was in a fair way of rivalling Greece in sculpture, and Italy in painting. I was then so little acquainted with the facts of the case from personal observation, that I heard all this with pleasure, as it held out an agreeable prospect for the future journey. But this hope was presently much dashed by a reference, in support of these pretensions, to the very galleries I had been looking at; to which, of course, I returned immediately after the lecture was over, very anxious to give the argument the full value of the illustration. But, alas! the second trial left matters worse than the first.

On the 26th of May, we made an excursion into the state of New Jersey, in company with some obliging friends, to see the falls of the Passaic, and the manufactories at the village of Patterson. These falls, which are dammed up for six days in the week to turn machinery, and let loose on Sunday, are considered one of the most fashionable sights in the neighbourhood; and I must own, that their popularity does credit to the taste of the cockneys of New York, the London of America. I trust, however, I shall be forgiven for skipping the picturesque upon this occasion.

I was so fortunate as to see during my stay at New York, the curious process of moving a house bodily along the ground, an operation, as far as I know, peculiar to that place. The merit of this curious adaptation of well known mechanical operations, belongs to Mr Simeon Brown, who has very kindly explained the whole process to me, and by his permission I shall endeavour to give an account of it.

Every one has heard of moving wooden houses; but the transportation of a brick dwelling is an exploit of a different nature. I shall describe simply what I saw, and then tell how the details were managed. In a street which required to be widened, there stood two houses much in the way, their front being twelve feet too far forward. These houses, therefore, must either have been taken down, or shifted back. Mr Brown undertook to execute the less destructive process. They were both of brick, and built together, one being forty feet deep, and twenty-five feet front; the other thirty-two feet deep, and twenty-two feet front. They were of the same height, that is to say, twenty-two feet, from the ground to the eves, above which stood the roof and two large stacks of brick chimneys; the whole forming a solid block of building, having two rows of six windows each, along a front of forty-seven feet by twenty-two. This was ac-

tually moved, in a compact body, without injury, twelve feet back from the street. I watched the progress of the preparations on the 25th of May with great interest; but unfortunately, just as the men were proceeding to the actual business of moving the screws, I was obliged to run off to keep an appointment with the Mayor and Corporation; and when I came back, three or four hours afterwards, the workmen had gone away after moving the buildings thirty inches; which fact I ascertained by measurements of my own. On the next day, with equal perversity of fate, I was again called off to join a party going to New Jersey; and on my return two days afterwards, I had the mortification to find the work completed. The houses were now exactly nine feet and a half from the position in which I had left them a few days before.

It would be tedious, perhaps, were I to give a very minute description of the whole process; but it is so simple, that it may, with a little attention, be understood in a general way even by persons not much accustomed to such subjects, and may possibly be useful to those who are familiar with them.

The first object is to place a set of strong timbers under the house, parallel to, and level with the street, at the distance of three feet apart, extending from end to end of the buildings, and pro-

jecting outwards several feet beyond the gable end walls. The extremities of these timbers are next made to rest upon blocks of wood, placed on the ground quite clear of the walls on the outside. Then by means of wedges driven between the timbers and the blocks, they are made to sustain a great part of the weight of the ends of the house. When this is done, the foundation of the end walls may be removed without danger, as they now rest exclusively on the timbers, the ends of which, as I have described, lie on solid blocks.

I shall describe presently how the above operation of inserting the timbers is performed; but if for the present we suppose it done, and the house resting on a sort of frame-work, it is easy to conceive that a set of slides, or what are called in dock-yards, ways, on which ships are launched, may be placed transversely under these timbers, that is, at right angles to them, so as to occupy the very place where the foundations of the end walls once stood. It is necessary to interpose between these ways or fixed slides, and the aforesaid timbers, a set of cradles, similar in their purpose to the apparatus of the same name on which ships rest when launched, to which final process of ship-building, by the by, this whole operation bears a close analogy. These cradles are long smooth beams lying along the top of the ways, and in the same line

with them; their under surfaces in contact with the ways, and the upper made to bear against the cross timbers which support the house. The object, at this stage of the business, is, to bring the whole weight of the house upon these cradles, and consequently, upon the ways which support them. If this be done, it follows that the ends of the timbers, formerly described as resting on the blocks, will no longer be supported at the same places. This change of the point of support is effected by driving in wedges between the timbers and the cradles; and it will readily be seen, that these wedges have the twofold effect of forcing the cradles down upon the ways, and at the same time of raising up the timbers which support the house, and consequently, in a very small degree, the house itself. The ends of the timbers now rest no longer on the blocks, which are removed, and the house, supported upon the cradles and the ways, is ready for being moved, as soon as the front and back walls have been taken away.

Suppose all this done, there is nothing required but to apply screws, placed horizontally in the street, and butting against the cradles. On these being made to act simultaneously, the cradles, and consequently the frame which they support, together with the house on its back, move along.

Such is a general account of the process. I shall

now mention how the various difficulties, most of which I dare say will have suggested themselves in the foregoing account, are overcome in practice.

The horizontal supporting timbers, already described as being placed parallel to the street, and nearly at the same level with it, are introduced one by one in this way. A hole is blocked out in each of the end walls, just above the ground, and large enough to admit a squared beam, say 15 inches each way, of which the ends project beyond the gable walls about a couple of feet. A firm block of wood is then placed under each of these ends, and wedges being driven underneath, the beam is raised up, and made to bear against the upper parts of the holes. Thus the inserted timber completely supplies the office of the dislodged portions of the masonry. Another pair of holes is then made, and a second timber introduced, and so on till they are all inserted, and firmly wedged up. The distance at which these are placed, must depend upon the weight of the wall. In the case I witnessed the houses were of brick, and the timbers stood at the distance, I should think, of three feet apart. All this being done, the intermediate masonry, forming the foundation, may be gradually removed, and a clear space will be left under the supported walls for the reception of the ways.

There are two more precautions to be attended

to; these ways must all be coated with tallow, in a layer of at least half an inch thick, so that the wood of the cradles may never come in contact with them. Some device must also be adopted to prevent the whole affair, house and all, from sliding laterally off. This, Mr Brown prevents by cutting along the top of one of the ways, a deep groove, into which is fitted a correspondent feather, as it is called, of the superincumbent cradle. This being made to work easy, and well greased, the direct motion is not retarded.

I have said nothing all this time of the front and back walls; but it will easily be understood how these may be made to rest, like those at the ends, on timbers inserted under the house at right angles, to the first set. The whole of the supporting frame-work is tied so firmly together by bolts, that there is not the slightest bending or twisting of any part of the building.

When at last the house has reached its destination, a new foundation is built, and the whole process being inverted, the timbers are withdrawn one by one; and such is the security of these operations, that no furniture is ever removed from the houses so transported. The inhabitants, I am told, move out and in as if nothing were going on. This, however, I did not see.

Mr Brown was once employed to remove a house

from the top to the bottom of a sloping ground; and, as no additional impulse from screws was here required, he resolved to ease the building down, as sailors call it, by means of a tackle. Unfortunately, about the middle of the operation, the strop of one of the blocks broke, and the operator, who was standing on the lower side of the building, was horrified by the apparition of the house under weigh, and smoking, by its friction, right down upon him. With that vigorous presence of mind, which is compounded of thorough knowledge, and a strong sense of the necessity of immediate action, and without which courage is often useless, he dashed a crow-bar, which he happened to have in his hand at the time, into a hole accidentally left in one of the ways, and leaping on one side watched the result. The momentum of the enormous moving body was so great, that it fairly drove the iron bar, like a cutting instrument, for a considerable distance through the fibres of the timber. The main point, however, was gained by the house being arrested in its progress down the hill; and the able engineer, like an officer who has shown himself fertile in resource, reaped more credit from the successful application of a remedy to an evil not anticipated, than if all had gone smoothly from the commencement.

We began now to think it was high time to dis-

entangle ourselves from the fascinations of the great city, and to proceed in earnest on our long pilgrimage. Accordingly, having obtained numerous letters of introduction, and a great stock of good advice, we bade adieu, for nearly half a year, to our kind friends at New York, whose attentions had left the most favourable impressions on our minds.

CHAPTER II.

On the 29th May 1827, we got up betimes, bustled about the hotel, paid our bill, snatched up our breakfast in that hurried and unsatisfactory style which belongs to scrimp time, and then rattled off in a hackney coach to the foot of Murray Street, where we caught the steam-boat Ariel,—the delicate Ariel,—just on the move. A bell was ringing on board, and other passengers who like ourselves were somewhat late, were seen galloping down the streets; while porters, and carters with luggage, came panting to the wharf, and tumbled their boxes, trunks, and carpet bags on the deck with very little ceremony. Exactly as the clock struck eight, the paddle-wheels began to stir, and away sallied the fairy ship, with her gay flags and snow-white awnings, like a huge swan, on the broad bosom of the magnificent Hudson. This River stretches directly in the line of the meridian from New York, into the very heart of that flourishing state, and

forming, undoubtedly, the finest natural canal in the world. It is wide, deep, and free from shoals for a great part of its course; and the tides which are never strong are always useful, even as far as Albany, 145 miles in the interior, and sometimes, if I am not mistaken, at certain seasons as far as Troy, a large village on the left bank of the river, six or eight miles still higher up. The scenery on the Hudson or North River, as it is generally called, has been so ably and so faithfully described by the classical author of the Legend of Sleepy Hollow, which lies on its left bank, that I may well be excused, I think, from making any fresh attempts in so difficult a walk. The steep shores are generally wooded, and every where studded with villages, or with single country houses, belonging to the ancient aristocracy, which is now rapidly withering away in that part of the country, as it has already done almost every where else in America, to the great exultation of the people, before the blighting tempest of democracy.

Instead of groaning under the burning sun which had scorched us dreadfully during the preceding day or two, we were now complaining as bitterly of a cool, I might almost say a cold morning, with a most comfortless drizzling rain. This was the first indication we had of the variable nature of the American climate, which we afterwards learnt by

dear experience was hardly to be matched, in this unpleasant respect, by any other in the world; at least as far as my knowledge had gone. I do not advert just now to the variety of temperature, dependent on the differences of latitude which the great extent of our journey brought us acquainted with, but to the variableness of the American climate generally, at any particular part of the United States. Before we reached our destination for the evening, the house of a friend we had met some years before in Europe, the rain had ceased, and the clouds being drawn up like a curtain far in the north-west, once more showed some bright touches of a clear blue sky.

Every thing about us continued to look new to our eyes; and the dreaming sort of feeling I have before tried to describe, was more or less present to our thoughts still. The whole scene, indeed, of which we had previously known nothing, or so little as to be ranked as nothing, was so very suddenly brought before us, that it seemed to the imagination, as if all we saw had started into existence only the moment before. In many other parts of the world I have felt something of the same kind; and have frequently caught myself, in distant countries, looking with surprise at the people bustling about and attending to their ordinary affairs, with what seemed a stupid unconsciousness of the

curiosity of appearances to me so new and so wondrous strange. Of course, in the next instant, such fantastic delusions would flit off, and give place to more substantial impressions. But this mixture of fancy and reality; of the tangible evidences of the senses with the imagery of the mind; which again were modified by a host of real associations and recollections of other scenes of other voyages, in the east and in the west, all taken together, produced a sensation highly interesting and curious, and though not easily described, it will I think be recognised by many other wanderers.

The pleasures of travelling, taken in this spirit, will sometimes far exceed the anticipation; and those brilliant pictures drawn by early enthusiasm or even by matured curiosity, of the wonders of the world, are often feeble in their colouring, compared to that of the actual original viewed on the spot.

The lands on the left bank of the Hudson, for a considerable distance above New York, were formerly held by great proprietors, and chiefly by the Livingstone family; but the abolition of entails, and the repeal of the law of primogeniture, has already broken it down into small portions. Our host, at the time of our visit, possessed only a third of the property held by his immediate predecessor, while the manor of Livingstone, an extensive and

fertile district farther up the river, formerly owned by one person, is now divided into forty or fifty parcels, belonging to as many different proprietors; so that where half-a-dozen landlords once lived, as many hundreds may now be counted. And as these new possessors clear away and cultivate the soil at a great rate, the population goes on swelling rapidly, though we were told not by any means so fast as it does in the wild regions of the west. This comparative tardiness may possibly be caused by some lingerings of the old aristocratical feeling; though it is mixed up curiously enough with the modern ideas of the equal division of property, the universality of electoral suffrage, equality of popular rights and privileges, and all the other transatlantic devices for the improvement of society. Every thing indeed that we saw in these districts, not actually under the plough, wore an air of premature and hopeless decay; the ancient manor-houses were allowed to fall to pieces; the trees of the parks and pleasure-grounds were all untended; the rank grass was thickly matted along with weeds over the walks; and the old pictures were fast going to ruin under the joint influence of mould and indifference. It cannot, indeed, now be otherwise, for the moment the proprietor dies, his land is equally divided amongst his children; and by thus falling into many hands, no one has the

means, if he had the inclination, to keep up the ancient state of things. The practical effect of this, as we saw every where exemplified, was to render the actual possessors utterly careless of those tasteful refinements above alluded to. By law, indeed, any man in America may leave his property to whom he pleases, or he may even entail it, exactly as in England, upon persons living at the time; yet the general sentiment of the public is so decidedly against such unequal distributions, that in practice such a thing very rarely if ever takes place. Consequently there is no check to this deteriorating process, which is rapidly reducing that portion of the country to the same level in respect to property, with those recently settled districts where entails and the rights of primogeniture never did exist, and are hardly known even by name; or if spoken of at all, it is with the utmost contempt and horror.

On Wednesday the 30th of May, we visited the Penitentiary, or State Prison, at a place called Sing Sing, on the left or east bank of the Hudson River, at the distance of thirty miles from New York.

I have yet seen nothing in any part of the world in the way of prisons, which appeared to be better managed than this establishment. It is no easy task to bring people who are well disposed under

the influence of strict discipline; but when the parties to be wrought upon are wicked and turbulent by nature, and altogether unaccustomed to restraint, the difficulty is considerably augmented. This problem, however, has been, I think, pretty nearly solved in America.

I had been told, in a general way, that several hundred convicts were employed at this spot, in the construction of a prison in which they themselves were eventually to be confined; but I could scarcely credit the accounts which described the degree of order and subordination maintained amongst a set of the most hardened ruffians any where to be found. Accordingly, although prepared in some degree, my astonishment was great when I approached the spot, and saw only two sentinels pacing along the height, from whence I looked down upon two hundred convicts at work. Some of these were labouring in a large marble quarry, others in long wooden sheds surrounding the spot, and some were engaged at various parts of the new prison, an extensive stone building running parallel to the river, about one-third of which had been finished and made habitable.

Captain Lynds, the superintendent, for whom we had brought a letter, joined us on the edge of the cliff, and begged us to walk down, that we might see what was going on, and judge, by per-

sonal inspection, whether or not the accounts we had heard were exaggerated.

There was an air of confident authority about all the arrangements of this place, which gave us a feeling of perfect security, though we were walking about unarmed amongst cut-throats and villains of all sorts. There was something extremely imposing in the profound silence with which every part of the work of these people was performed. During several hours that we continued amongst them, we did not hear even a whisper, nor could we detect in a single instance an exchange of looks amongst the convicts, or what was still more curious, a sidelong glance at the strangers. Silence in fact is the essential, or I may call it the vital principle of this singular discipline. When to this are added unceasing labour during certain appointed hours, rigorous seclusion during the rest of the day, and absolute solitude all night, there appears to be formed one of the most efficacious combinations of moral machinery that has ever perhaps been seen in action.

The principles upon which this system of prison discipline rests are very simple, and may be easily explained; perhaps, however, the readiest method will be to run through the routine of one complete day's operations, by which all the principal parts

will be seen, and their bearing on one another more readily understood.

The whole secret of the astonishing success of this plan, lies in preventing the prisoners from holding any kind of communication with each other, however slight or transient. As a matter of indispensable necessity towards the accomplishment of this object, it is obvious that the convicts must be kept separate at night. To effect this completely, without any great cost in the way of house-room and of superintendence, is a difficulty which has been completely overcome in the state of New York. According to the system alluded to, each prisoner has a separate sleeping place, seven feet in length, seven high, and three and a half wide, built of solid blocks of stone, and secured by an iron door, the upper part of which contains orifices smaller than a man's hand. Through this grate a sufficient supply of air is admitted, and as much light and heat as are necessary. The ventilation is made complete by a sort of chimney or air-pipe, three inches in diameter, which extends from the upper part of each of the apartments to the roof of the building. These cells, or sleeping birthes, are placed in rows of one hundred in each, one above another, and in appearance by no means unlike wine bins in a cellar, only deeper, wider, and twice as high. Each tier has in front of it a narrow gal-

lery just wide enough for one man to pass, and connected at the ends with a staircase. The prison at Sing Sing when completed, which it probably is by this time (1829), will contain eight hundred cells, four hundred of which are on the side facing the river, and a like number on the side next the land. The block or mass of building, formed of these two sets of cells placed back to back, may be compared to a long, high, and straight wall twenty feet thick, perforated on both sides with four parallel and horizontal ranges of square holes. This again is encased on all sides by an external building, the walls of which are at ten feet distance from those of the inner work, or honeycomb of cells. These outer walls are pierced with rows of small windows, one being opposite to each door, and so adjusted as to afford abundant light and fresh air, but no means of seeing out. Stoves and lamps are placed along the area or open space between the external wall and the inner building, to afford heat in winter, and light to the galleries after sunset.

As soon as the prisoners are locked up for the night, each in his separate cell, a watchman takes his station on the ground floor abreast of the lower tier, or if he thinks fit he may walk along the galleries past the line of doors. His feet being shod with mocasins, his tread is not heard, while he him-

self can hear the faintest attempt at communication made by one prisoner to another; for the space in front of the cells seems to be a sort of whispering or sounding gallery, of which fact I satisfied myself by actual experiment, though I do not very well know the cause. In this way the convicts are compelled to pass the night in solitude and silence; and I do not remember in my life to have met before with any thing so peculiarly solemn as the death-like silence which reigned, even at noon-day, in one of these prisons, though I knew that many hundreds of people were close to me. At night the degree of silence was really oppressive; and like many other parts of this curious establishment must be witnessed in person to be duly understood.

The convicts are awakened at sunrise by a bell; but before they are let out, the clergyman of the establishment reads a prayer from a station so chosen, that without effort he can readily make himself heard by all the prisoners on that side of the building, that is to say, by 400, or one half of the number confined. The turnkeys now open the doors, and a word of command being given, each of the prisoners steps out of his cell into the gallery. They are then formed into close line, and made to march with what is called the lock step, with their eyes turned towards their keeper, along the passages to the work-shops. On leaving the

building, the different divisions or gangs under the several turnkeys, make a short halt in the outer-yard to wash their hands and faces, and also to deposit their tubs and water-cans, which are taken up by another set of prisoners, whose duty it is to attend to the cleansing department of the household. Another party of the prisoners attend to the cooking; another to washing clothes; in short, the whole work is done by the convicts. The main body of the prisoners are then marched to their fixed tasks; some to hew stone, or to saw marble, some to forge iron, some to weave cloth; while others are employed as tailors, shoemakers, coopers, and in various other trades. Each shop is under the charge of a turnkey, of course not a convict, but a man of character, and known to be trustworthy, who, besides other qualifications, is required to be master of the business there taught; for his duty is not only to enforce the closest attention to the rules of the prison, and in particular that of the most rigorous silence, but he has to instruct the men under his charge in some trade. The prisoners when in these work-shops, are placed in rows with their faces all turned in one direction, so that they cannot communicate by looks or signs. Each turnkey has not less than twenty, nor more than thirty men under his charge; and it is found that one man, stimulated by a good salary, or by

other adequate motives to do his duty, and who is duly supported, can perfectly well enforce these regulations upon that number of persons.

The general superintendent of the prison has a most ingenious method of watching not only the prisoners, but also the turnkeys. A narrow dark passage runs along the back part of all the workshops, from whence the convicts, sitting at their tasks, as well as their turnkeys, can be distinctly seen through narrow slits in the wall, half an inch wide, and covered with glass, while the superintendent himself can neither be seen nor heard by the prisoners, or by their keepers. The consciousness that a vigilant eye may at any given moment be fixed upon them, is described as being singularly efficacious in keeping the attention of all parties awake, to an extent which no visible and permanent scrutiny, I am told, has the power of commanding.

At a fixed hour, eight I believe, a bell is rung, upon which all work is discontinued; the prisoners again form themselves into a close line under their turnkey, and when the order is given to march, they return back to their cells. Each one now stops before his door, with his hands by his side, motionless and silent like a statue, till directed by a signal to stoop down for his breakfast, which has been previously placed for him on the

floor of the gallery. They next turn about, and march in, after which the iron doors of their cells are locked upon them, while they take their comfortless meal in solitude. At Auburn, where this system was first put in operation, it was the practice, at the time of my visit, to allow the prisoners to eat their meals in company. But experience having shown that even this degree of sociability, trifling as it was, did some harm, and that much good was gained by compelling them to mess alone, the plan above described has, I believe, been introduced in all the other similar establishments in America, of which I am glad to say there are now a great many.

After twenty minutes have elapsed, the prisoners are marched to their work; which goes on in the same uninterrupted style till noon, when they are paraded once more to their cells, where they take their lock-up, unsociable dinner, and then pace back again to their dull silent round of hard labour. On the approach of night, the prisoners are made to wash their hands and faces, as they did in the morning on leaving their cells, and then, as before, at the sound of the yard-bell, to form themselves into lines, each one standing in order according to the number of his night's quarters. As they pass through the yard they take up their cans and tubs, and proceed finally for this day to their cell

doors, where their supper of mush and molasses, a preparation of Indian corn meal, awaits them as before. At a fixed hour they are directed by a bell to undress and go to bed; but just before this, and as nearly at sunset as may be, prayers are said by the resident clergyman. It is very important to know from the best qualified local authorities, that the efficacy of this practice, considered as a branch of the prison discipline, and independently of its other valuable considerations, has been found very great.

Captain Lynds, the superintendent at Sing Sing, and the gentleman who is, I believe, universally admitted to have the greatest share of the merit which belongs to the first practical application of this system, is decidedly of opinion that it is not and never can be complete, unless there be a clergyman permanently attached to the establishment, whose exclusive duty it shall be to attend to the prisoners. Indeed he told me himself, that he had originally taken the opposite line, from a belief that this division of authority with a spiritual superintendent, if I may use such a term, would interfere with the ordinary discipline; but that he now considered this alliance of primary consequence. This question is one of great moment, and the name of Captain Lynds stands so deservedly high, that I cannot afford to relinquish the support which

his authority lends to my own deliberate opinion upon this subject.

In April 1827, at the earnest recommendation of this gentleman, a chaplain was sent to Sing Sing. The person who was induced to assume the responsibilities of this station was Mr Gerrish Barrett, and that he feels these obligations in the proper spirit, will I think be freely admitted by every one who reads the following extract from a letter written by him, which I have transcribed from page 109 of the Second Report of the Prison Discipline Society of Boston, an institution which has rendered eminent services to this cause in America.

"A little after seven o'clock every evening," says Mr Barrett, "I commence reading the scriptures to the convicts, afterwards make some remarks, and then offer a prayer on each side of the prison. I have found by experience, that to stand as near the centre of the prison as possible, on the pavement below, is far better for the purpose of being easily heard, than to stand upon the gallery. I am persuaded, that of all the methods which have been used for fastening divine truth upon the minds of convicts, this daily reading of the scriptures and prayer is most likely to succeed. The truth strikes upon the ear, when the men are sobered by the labours of the day, when no mortal eye sees them,

and when the twilight and the silence, and the loneliness combine in causing it to make a deep impression. They can then reflect on what they have heard till they fall asleep.

"After divine service on the Sabbath, a considerable portion of the time is spent in talking to the men in their cells. In this business I feel more and more interested. I have found no one yet, who showed any disrespect or unwillingness to hear what was said."—(Page 67.)

It will not be supposed, nor is it pretended by the friends of this plan, that its effects are in every case beneficial, and that all, or any great number of the convicts, are to be reformed. It is surely enough if it can be shown, that of all the plans of penitentiary discipline which have been tried, this one affords the best chance for success; and it is my opinion, after having visited many prisons in different parts of the United States, that the Auburn system, as it is called, does in fact combine more advantages, with fewer defects, than any other which has yet been proposed in that country.

I ought perhaps to have mentioned before, that the convicts who are sentenced to confinement in the state prisons of America, are chiefly such as in England would be either executed or banished. Now, in most of the states, particularly in the North and in the East, there is a great objection

to capital punishments; and as they have no place to which offenders can be transported, they are compelled, in order to preserve the peace of society, to shut up in the heart of the country a great number of persons who in England would be got rid of altogether. This difference in the circumstances of the two countries is not, I think, sufficiently attended to, and like many other things, helps to disturb those analogies by which the same reasonings are often injudiciously applied to both.

Two plans have been proposed in America, for alleviating the evils incident to this necessity of maintaining a permanent class of ruffians, gradually increasing in numbers, in the very heart of the community. One of these is to shut them up in absolute solitary confinement day and night, either with or without labour, but altogether without companionship; and thus virtually to banish them not only from the country, but, for the time, from the world. This, combined with a course of reformatory moral discipline, which is not considered incompatible, has some zealous supporters in Pennsylvania. The other is the plan I have been just describing, which is generally called the Auburn system, from the first experiments having been made at a village of that name, in the western part of the State of New York. A pretty warm controversy has been carried on in America upon this

subject; but as I shall probably have a better opportunity of explaining the nature and extent of the opposite system, or that of absolute solitude, in treating of the penitentiary at Philadelphia, I shall at present merely state in a very few words what seem to be the prominent advantages of the Auburn plan.

It is right to mention in passing, that many persons in England are under a misconception as to the state of the controversy in America. In the Seventh Report of the London Prison Discipline Society, at page 110, it is stated, that "Solitary confinement, unmitigated by employment either of body or mind, is the most prominent feature in the discipline now recommended in the United States."

Without going into any details, I think it due to the subject, as well as to the good sense and right feelings of that country, to assert positively, that the contrary is the fact; and that of all the persons I conversed with on this matter—and I spared no pains to bring myself in contact with those who took an interest in the question—I met with only one man who was a hearty advocate for absolute solitary confinement, and even he was half disposed to admit the necessity of adding labour. There is not a single new prison from end to end of America, excepting one in Philadelphia, where such a

plan is thought of; and even there, absolute solitude has not yet been, and I suspect never will be adopted —simply because the public feeling is directly the reverse of what is stated in the above quotation; and because all experience tends to show its inefficacy.

It must be recollected, that the persons subjected to this discipline, are amongst the most hardened, the least educated, and the most unprincipled men in the country; many of whom have been systematically taught vice, and who, from the constant indulgence of every bad propensity, have acquired the most pernicious habits. To reform such matured ruffians, is not a task which holds out much hope in the eyes of men who have studied such subjects out of their closets. All that can be looked for, indeed, or that ought to be looked for, as far as the convicts are concerned, is that, by possibility, some of them may be made less wicked. In this view, it is a statesman's business to give them the best chance for reformation, at the same time that he effectually keeps in view the other objects of a penitentiary. These are the safe custody of the culprit, combined with that amount of punishment which, while it makes the deepest impression on his mind, may, by a salutary terror, help to deter others from committing like offences against society. If economy to the state can be

added, as in the case of the Auburn system, where the labour of the convicts defrays nearly all the expenses of the establishment, so much the better.

In the official report made to the legislature of the state of New York, dated 5th January, 1828, the inspectors say, "Such has been the improvement in the earnings of the convicts, and such the diminution of pardons, we are of opinion, that no farther appropriation will hereafter be necessary to support the current expenses of the prison at Auburn." The directors of the prison at Wethersfield in the state of Connecticut, say in their official report to the legislature, dated 10th April, 1828, "that the earnings of the prisoners for the six months ending 31st March, 1828, have been 1017 dollars over and above the expenses of their management, and of their support."

"In the new prison at Sing Sing," says the Boston Society's Third Report, page 14, "Captain Lynds declares, that he will ask no greater privilege from the state when the prison is done, than the earnings of the convicts, above every expense for food, medical attendance, moral instruction, keeping, &c. &c.; and that he will enter into bonds for one hundred thousand dollars to release the state from all further charges for the current expenses, in consideration of receiving the proceeds of the labour of the convicts."

It is not very agreeable, but it may perhaps be useful, to compare this point of prison expenses with what takes place in England. The following table is extracted from page 56 of the Third Report of the Boston Prison Discipline Society.

"Another great point of difference in the two countries, is in regard to the productiveness of the labour of convicts.

IN ENGLAND.	*Number of convicts.*	*Amount of earning.*
Maidstone County Prison, Kent, - -	363	£1119
Lancaster Castle County Jail, - -	414	601
Preston County House of Correction, -	192	516
Manchester New Bailey House of Correction,	762	2209
Kirkdale County House of Correction, -	620	830
Leicester County House of Correction, -	99	138
Milbank Penitentiary, near London, -	341	1425
Shrewsbury County Jail and House of Correction,	134	227
Stafford County Jail and House of Correction,	268	658
Bury County Jail and House of Correction,	124	154
Dorchester County Jail and House of Correction,	183	675
Gloucester County Jail and Penitentiary,	199	120
Twelve among the most productive Prisons in England, containing - -	3699	£8867
	Equal in dollars to	41,727

IN THE UNITED STATES.		*Number of convicts.*	*Amount of earning.*
State Prison in Maine, - -	1827,	71	Dollars 8564
State Prison in New Hampshire,	1825,	70	9949
State Prison in Massachusetts. -	1827,	285	22,732
State Prison at Wethersfield, Conn.	1828,	97	7230
State Prison at Auburn, N. Y. -	1827,	476	33,504
Five among the most productive Prisons in the United States, - - - - -		999	Dollars 81,979

"According to this statement, in England, 3699 convicts earn in a year, about 41,727 dollars. And in the United States, 999 convicts earn 81,979 dollars, or about £17,425. Or in other words, a little more than one-fourth part the number of con-

victs in the United States, earn more than double the amount of nearly four times the number of convicts in England."

The above great difference in the returns from the labour of the convicts, depends chiefly on the difference in the discipline; but partly no doubt on the diet. At all the five American prisons above mentioned, the animal food allowed to each man per day, is not less than one pound, which is not more than sufficient considering the nature of their constant and hard labour. In England, the quantity of animal food is very small—a pound, or half a pound a-week.—(Third Report, page 56.)

A convict brought to one of these prisons, whatever may have been his previous life, is speedily instructed in many useful things, of which, in all probability, he was totally ignorant before, and might never otherwise have come to learn. In the first place, he is taught habits of industry; from whence, in spite of himself, he is made sensible how much he may do by steady labour. He is taught habits of temperance, of which virtue he probably knew nothing at all before; and what may tend to impress its value on his mind, he discovers what it is to sleep soundly, to rise without a headach, and to look to labour as a source of health, of strength, and even of enjoyment, as a relief from the tedium of solitude. He also learns, what certain-

ly he never could have known before, habits of obedience, and of submission to something stronger than his own perverse will. It may be said that this obedience is compulsory and irksome, and that such rigorous discipline can be enforced at the point of the lash alone. Still the habit is engendered; and a man who by any means, no matter what, is compelled to obey for any length of time the consistent laws of a well-regulated prison, will leave it, I should think, better disposed to obey the general laws of society than he ever was formerly. He is, moreover, made acquainted with order, cleanliness, and punctuality, all new and agreeable to him. The corruption of his manners, from the long-continued evils of vicious intercourse with equally bad, or worse spirits than himself, is entirely put a stop to; and the canker, if it have not fairly reached the core, may yet be arrested—perhaps eradicated. In aid of this too, it must be recollected, that the only voice, except that of stern authority, which he is ever allowed to hear, is that of the friendly chaplain. Thus his sole remaining intercourse with society takes place through a person whose duty and whose pleasure it is to lead his thoughts into virtuous channels, and when once there to keep them fast. "Mr Barrett, the chaplain of Sing Sing," says the Report of the Boston Society, "expresses a deep and increasing interest

in his employment, and that his time flies swiftly, and he is willing to remain where he is."—(2d Report, p. 67.)

That any person should be willing to remain amongst such a set of men, is creditable not only to himself individually, but to the system by which his exertions are made so useful, as to act the part of an agreeable stimulus to duty. The pleasure which this amiable man speaks of, arises, undoubtedly, from those incipient buddings of sympathy, if I may so express myself, which spring up in his path; by which he learns, that no field, however barren it may seem to careless eyes, can be unfertile, when watered by those dews, which by his sacred commission he is commanded to shed alike over the just and the unjust.

As a part of this system, therefore, I should have mentioned before, that a Bible is placed in every cell, and is the only book the convicts are allowed to see. The prisoner may read it, or he may leave it alone, as he pleases; but when we consider that this is the only occupation of his solitude, and that, except on Sunday, the opportunities of leisure are few and brief, the chances are, that sooner or later he will be tempted to try. "I should like to see," said a hardened convict to the chaplain upon one occasion, "what sort of stuff the Bible is made of." Exactly in the same way, probably, a prisoner may,

and often does, turn a deaf ear at first to the service read to him every morning and evening; or, like his betters, he may sometimes sleep through the sermon; or he may sullenly reject those Sunday visits which, by the rules of the prison, the clergyman alone is authorized to pay to every one who shall intimate his wish to that effect. But in the course of time, when he finds that these words are the only sounds he is permitted to hear, save those of arbitrary command, and that the occasional companionship of the chaplain forms the only link by which he is held to the rest of the world, he must come, if there be a spark of good in his composition—and in whom is there not something that is good?—to feel the amusement at least, and eventually perhaps, the profit of these lessons.

As many of the convicts, however, were found unable to read, it seemed rather a mockery to place books in their cells; and this reflection probably suggested the experiment of a Sunday school at Auburn, in the summer of 1826, at which 50 of the most ignorant of the convicts, whose age did not exceed 25, were placed. The privilege was embraced with the greatest avidity and apparent thankfulness, and the school has since been extended to a hundred and twenty-five members. "The prisoners were divided into classes of five or six, and

instructed," says Mr Powers, the keeper, "by students belonging to the Theological Seminary of the village of Auburn, who, to the number of twenty, benevolently offered their services." The discipline of the prison, however, is not relaxed on these occasions more than is absolutely necessary; and while the convicts who form the classes are under the general superintendence of the chaplain, they are at the same time closely watched by vigilant officers of the prison. By the last official report of the keeper, 7th January, 1828, it appears that nearly one-fourth of all the convicts in the prison attend the Sunday school; the number being 125 out of about 550 prisoners.

It is not my intention, as I said before, to enter at present into the merits of this plan compared with that of entire solitude day and night; but I may mention as I go along, that every thing I have seen in America and elsewhere, satisfies me that nothing useful can ever be effected in any department of life, bodily or mental, unless a certain portion of cheerfulness forms one of the ingredients in the mixture. Now, there seems to be no other device or substitute by which this indispensable requisite to success can be supplied, but the companionship of our fellow men. This, after all, is the true vital principle of our social atmosphere; without it we either die, or become deranged, or

remain to stagnate in useless degradation; or, which is far more probable, become more and more corrupt. It appears to me, therefore, after examining the subject attentively on the spot, under a great variety of aspects, that the minimum degree of cheerfulness that will answer the purpose is allowed to the prisoners in the penitentiaries alluded to, by their being permitted to labour in company. They cannot interchange thoughts, or hold any sociable intercourse whatsoever; but still they do see the human face divine; they feel that they are not altogether abandoned and shut out from the world; and although this association be purposely made one of toil and of disgrace, still it is not so dreadful as the unvaried companionship of their own guilty thoughts. This consideration, by the way, many people are apt to disregard. Because, forsooth, they themselves are virtuous, and stand in need of no more cakes and ale, they fancy they might be cheered, instead of being tortured, by the exclusive and fearful process of dissecting their own thoughts.

For all the useful purposes of reflection, twelve hours out of the twenty-four are surely abundantly sufficient; and if this interval be passed in rigorous solitude, after a long and speechless day of hard labour, there will remain, I am sure, enough of sorrow in the captive's cup to excite no wish

on his part to repeat the draught, nor any desire on that of others to share in such a banquet.

It often occurred to me, during my visits to these miserable abodes of guilt and punishment, that one of the most powerful motives to virtuous action might with great ease be introduced into all of them, as a branch not only of the mere prison discipline, but as a source of eventual advantage to the prisoners themselves, and consequently to their country. The motive I allude to is hope, —blessed hope! At present the lash, that prompt, severe, efficacious, but, I much fear, indispensable weapon, is the grand instrument by which the well-explained rules of these Penitentiaries are enforced. I use the word indispensable, because I conceive it hardly possible to do away with this rigorous method of compelling the obedience of hardened, and, morally speaking, unfeeling villains, without substituting punishments incomparably more severe, and at the same time less effectual. Along with it, however, a more generous motive than fear may very well come into play. Why, if disobedience be punished, should not obedience be rewarded? And how easy it would be to give the convicts a direct and immediate interest in conforming to the rules of the place. Suppose a prisoner were sentenced to several years' confinement; then, if he behave well for a week

together, let one day be struck off his term of confinement; if he continue to deport himself correctly for a month more, let the term of his detention be shortened a fortnight; and if he shall go on steadily for six months, then let half a year be struck off his whole period; and so on, according to any ratio that may be found suitable.

It must surely be the wish of society in general, to let a prisoner out as soon as possible, consistently with a certain salutary effect on himself, and on others. Now, it has always seemed to me, that by this process of giving the convict a constant, personal interest in behaving well during his confinement, not only might the seeds of virtue be sown, but the ground put in good order for their future growth. Consequently, I conceive, we should thus, in most cases, antedate the allowable moment of the prisoner's release, and still produce all the effect desired, or, to speak more correctly, all the good that is possible.

I observe by the official returns, that in consequence of the free use of the pardoning power on the part of government, very few prisoners ever do serve out their whole term of sentence, even as things are now regulated. This is loudly and universally complained of, from its unsettling the whole machinery of penal enactments, and depriving punishment of more than half its terrors, by

removing all its certainty. But if the plan I have suggested were adopted, the evils of uncertainty, which are great, would fall entirely to the prisoner's share, not to that of the public, from being made contingent on his own conduct. There would then be only one way for him to shorten the duration of his captivity, namely, his own steady adherence to the rules of the prison. Of course the pardoning power would require to be tied up more strictly than it is, and imperatively limited, by law, to those cases alone where further evidence should arise to disprove the supposed guilt, and show the sentence to have been unjust.

I shall be much rejoiced to see this experiment tried in America, which has so admirably led the way in this matter. I am sure it will not only benefit society at large, but probably the convicts themselves. It would also, I am sure, help to lighten the burdens of that valuable class of men, the keepers, whose zeal in this cause often excited my admiration: and who, I am convinced, would be glad to be aided in their discipline by some principle like this, which should induce the prisoners to co-operate heartily with them, instead of eternally wishing to defy and thwart them.

In the meantime, it is interesting to see what

has been done in that country, and I am happy to have high authority to quote upon the occasion.

"Sufficient time has not elapsed fully to develope the influence of confinement in this prison," such are the words of Judge Powers, the excellent superintendent at Auburn, "in reforming the habits and dispositions of men, but enough has appeared to promise the most favourable results. There have been fewer reconvictions, compared to the number of convicts, in this, than in any other known prison. From 167 of the convicts last received, there were but three or four reconvictions."

"In the year 1826 there were admitted into the prison at Auburn 133 prisoners, of whom there were received,

On first sentence, . .	129
Second do. . . .	4

or the reconvictions were to the first convictions as 1 to 32; while at the prison of the city and county of Philadelphia, which is managed on the ordinary plan of allowing the prisoners to associate, the numbers stood thus, in the same year. 1826:—

On the first sentence, . .	231
On the second do. . .	42
Third do. . .	17
Fourth do. . .	5
Fifth do. . .	1

or the recommitments were as one to three and a half."*

"Let it not be understood, however," says Judge Powers, "that we expect that all, or nearly all, who are or may be confined in this prison, will be reformed. Such an event can by no means be calculated upon by any man in his sober senses. There always will be many who, previous to their confinement, had become so hardened in villainy, so lost to all that is decent and good, and so insensible to moral obligation, that no rational hope of their being essentially benefited, by any course of discipline, can be entertained, except what may arise from the interposition of a divine agency."

"In every large establishment, there will always be a class of convicts, who may be appropriately styled—state prison characters. A prison is their element. They can seemingly breathe no other air. If you throw them back upon the world, they are not satisfied till they are again in prison. If their sentence be short, when it expires, they go out but to be reconvicted, and to be returned. So they live, and so they die; and it is from this class that reconvictions, for the most part, take place, and are to be expected."†

* Third Report of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, p. 58.

† Report of Gershom Powers to the Legislature of New York, 7th Jan. 1828, p. 63.

I have reluctantly omitted many curious and important details connected with this admirable system; but any person having farther curiosity, will find this particular branch of the subject, and many others relating to the prisons of America, treated at length in a very masterly style, in the 1st, 2d, and 3d Reports of the Prison Discipline Society of Boston, which may be procured from Mr Miller, American bookseller, Pall Mall, London.

CHAPTER III.

On the 31st of May 1827, we proceeded to West Point, some thirty miles farther up the glorious Hudson, the beauties of which increased as we went onwards, till at the place we had now reached, the scenery had acquired all the grandeur of the finest Highland lochs of Scotland, as far as altitude or form are concerned, with the additional embellishment of a rich coating of foliage, reaching from the tops of the highest mountains, in some places nearly to the water's edge. The general direction of the river was straight, but a sufficient number of bends occurred to take off any appearance of formality; and as the steam-boat glided across from one landing-place to another, we had the enjoyment of much variety in the landscape; and, upon the whole, I have seldom, if ever, seen a more beautiful line of river scenery.

Dinner was placed on the deck of the steam-boat at one o'clock, in the cool air, under the com-

fortable awning with which these magnificent vessels are furnished; but as we had breakfasted late, we hesitated about taking so early a dinner, and being then very young in the mysteries of American travelling, let a good meal slip by us, in the expectation of something at least equally good at West Point, which we knew we should reach only a couple of hours later in the day. Alas! when we came there, the dinner was over long before; and what was worse, the master of the house had gone to the city, while the mistress, they told us, was sick, which in America signifies what we should call being unwell; and lastly, as the highest misfortune of all, the black cook had gone out to take a walk—who ever heard before of a cook taking a walk!—and carried the key of the larder in his pocket.

Nothing makes people so selfish, all the world over, as an empty stomach; we affected, indeed, to be indifferent to this ourselves, while we felt, and scrupled not to express all sorts of anxiety on the little girl's account, who was whining from time to time from sheer hunger. During all the morning she had been dragging the passengers about the decks of the steam-boat, opening every box and door that she could get at, till she fairly dropped asleep at full length in the middle of the deck. On coming to West Point her slumbers were interrupted, and the tough climb up to the Mili-

tary Academy, on a table land 200 feet above the river, did not help to restore her young ladyship's good-humour.

On learning the above melancholy intelligence respecting the vanished dinner, I sallied forth myself to the kitchen, in quest of some bread and milk. Here I fell in with a good-natured fellow, a raw Irish waiter, who, after a clattering search amongst an army of mugs and jugs, declared, with a rueful countenance, that the cadets of the establishment had managed—bad luck to them!—to swallow every drop of milk in the house. In this dilemma, as our friend declared himself fairly nonplussed, I made a soft appeal to a great strapping negress, a cook-wench, more than half hid behind several mountains of dirty plates, just removed from the adjacent room, where no fewer than twenty dozen cadets had dined.

"I am sure," said I, "you could manage to get me a drop of milk for my little girl—if you would only try?"

"Well, master, I will try," she said, and smiling at the earnest manner in which I spoke, discovered two rows of teeth so bright and clear, that I dare swear many a rich and fair dame would fain have given her best string of pearls in exchange. Leaving Pat and me in charge of the plates, away she ran with a bowl in her hand, to milk a cow

straying about in the exercising ground, and in less than five minutes afterwards little Miss was gobbling it up. Our countryman the waiter, who was determined not to be outdone by the ebony damsel of the ivory teeth, slipped off upon seeing her success, and presently reappeared in the kitchen, holding up in triumph a great beef-steak, half as large as my waistcoat.

The Military Academy at West Point is the only institution of the kind in the United States, which is maintained entirely at the expense of the general government. The object in view, I am told, is not so much to breed up young men for actual military service, as to disseminate by their means, throughout the different parts of the country, a sound knowledge of the accurate sciences, as well as a taste for literary and scientific pursuits; and also to spread more widely correct ideas of military discipline and military knowledge. There can be no doubt that, in the event of any war in America, there will always be a full supply of men willing to become officers, and brave enough, as far as that goes, to make good ones. But without some further education than what is generally attended to in that country,—say the friends of the West Point establishment,—the adequate amount of theoretical knowledge of the art of war will certainly not be forthcoming. This desideratum the government

hope to supply, by distributing throughout the Union a number of young men, educated at the public expense, and well-grounded in the practice and in the principles of military science, as far at least as these can be taught at school, together with those collateral branches of knowledge which are generally considered useful in forming the character of an officer.

The institution, as far as I could judge, appeared to be very well conducted, and undoubtedly it does much credit to the ingenuity and public spirit of the statesmen who devised it. But whether it will effect the purpose intended, is another question. I suspect it neither will nor can produce much good in the way proposed, and fear, indeed, that it will not have the effect of diffusing so generally as its friends suppose, any useful knowledge of those severer studies which are followed at West Point. I thought otherwise on first seeing the institution in question; but, after having viewed the country from end to end, the confidence formerly entertained of its utility was much weakened.

My early impressions certainly were that the West Point Academy would do much good, by spreading knowledge and taste of a higher order than, I was assured, was any where else to be found in the country. I then sincerely rejoiced at its success, so far, and do so still, though with slender

hopes of its doing the country any essential service. When we consider the tide of population and of free action which are flowing over the United States, and look to its prosperity in many respects, it is highly desirable on their own account, as well as that of other nations, that correct knowledge should accompany their progress. A certain amount, and a particular description of knowledge, the nation will get, unquestionably; and that of military matters amongst the rest. Now, certainly, it is much better for all parties, that they should obtain it in a liberal and gentlemanlike style, and in a way which renders it susceptible of being generally diffused, than that they should come by it by remoter and confined means—by foreign service, for instance.

My reasons for so thinking are, that I conceive the chances of America and England remaining on good terms bear some ratio to the degree of acquaintance they have with one another's power. In proportion as information of any kind, but particularly that which relates to science, is extended in America, so will their military knowledge be improved. The knowledge of one science, we know, always begets a love for others; and if these young and properly educated men, should carry with them to the back-woods, or other remote parts of the States, much well-grounded and useful information, they might be expected to exert themselves, not

only to advance farther in this "march of intellect," but to impart what they knew to others, and thus to open new veins in the inexhaustible mines of knowledge.

Supposing all this to take place, according to the most sanguine views of its projectors, we must recollect that English books will continue for a long time to form the principal channel through which the information alluded to must flow, and more or less of a kindly feeling ought, one would think, to be carried along with the stream; and thus the Americans might come in time to know and esteem other countries more than they appear to do at present. As their own taste for science and letters improved, it might be hoped they would learn to value it in others, and, consequently, be more cordially disposed to us; less apt to take or to give offence; and eventually arrive at a better frame of mind, nationally speaking, than they now are in, with respect to England.

Precisely for the same reason that I should prefer dealing with a man of intelligence and good sense as my rival in war or in any other pursuit, rather than with a blockhead—so I should say England ought to wish America to be wise and well informed, under any possible view of political relationship. For my own part, I see no limits to this, and should rejoice with all my heart if Ame-

rica were as far advanced in literature, in science, in military and naval knowledge, in taste, in the fine arts, in manufactures, in commerce—in short, in every thing, as any part of Europe. No power can stop them; at least, if they do not stop themselves;—for if the elements of real improvement be in existence there, we might as well try to check the revolution of the earth upon its axis, as to retard that nation, if it shall once acquire the due momentum in such a career. What is likely to take place, all things considered, I do not say; but I venture to predict, that every fresh approximation to European knowledge, and, consequently, to power and to virtue, in America, will only strengthen our mutual good-will, and can never injure either party. A more unworthy or short-sighted jealousy, therefore, cannot be imagined, than that which looks to the advances which may be made by that country in knowledge, with any feelings but those of honest sympathy.

The number of students at West Point is limited to 250; the average age of admission being 17, and by law they cannot enter under 14. The period of study is four years before they can acquire their diploma, or certificate. The nominations lie with the President of the United States, who selects a proportion of candidates from each state; and the applications are said to be numerous

and urgent, although a very rigid probationary examination takes place in the first instance. If the candidate cannot pass this ordeal, he is rejected; but if he get over it successfully, he is then taken upon trial for six months; and if he stands this also with proper credit, he is admitted as a cadet; otherwise, his friends receive a hint to withdraw him.

The chief studies are the mathematics, which are carried to a very respectable height. Civil and military engineering, fortification, and surveying are duly attended to. Astronomy, too, is taught; but as there is not yet a single observatory throughout the whole United States, an acquaintance with this science must, in the meantime, go for little. The cadets are taught drawing, and they also learn to read French, though not to speak it, the sole object being to give them the means of consulting the authorities on military subjects in that language. Chemistry and mineralogy, as well as ethics and the belles lettres, form parts of the course.

The discipline appears to be strict, and efficient in all respects. To assist in this object, a register is kept of the demerits of every cadet, so as to furnish at a glance the means of knowing how each one has behaved throughout the year, or month, or even week. Perhaps this kind of register is well

known; but as it was new to me, and is adopted with slight modifications at many schools and colleges in other parts of the United States, a word or two respecting it may be interesting.

There are seven classes of offences, the gravest being No. 1, and the most trivial No. 7. I did not obtain a memorandum of these delinquencies; but I think No. 2 was for a sentry sleeping on his post; and this reminds me that the cadets are made to mount guard, march about the country, and do all the military duties of soldiers, as if West Point were in fact a garrison. Against the name of every cadet are ruled seven columns; and the number of times during the week that he has fallen under any particular head of error, is jotted in its proper column. Each of these columns has a specific multiplier, that of the graver offences being the largest, and so on. At the end of the week or month, the numbers in the columns are summed up separately, and then by multiplying the number of times each offence has been committed by its proper multiplier, and adding the whole together, a sum total of delinquency is obtained.

I much doubt if any thing useful, with respect to character, is made out by this artificial system of recording faults. It may increase the vigilance of the young men, and it certainly affords a ready method of classification. But it does seem rather

hard that a youth's academic delinquencies should be printed and circulated over the whole country. It looks somewhat like bearing malice; and it must certainly cramp a generous mind to find itself placed under the consciousness that all its faults are recorded and conned over in a note book. In every kind of discipline, military or domestic, one of the greatest secrets is, to punish offences—if punished at all—adequately and at once; but, in every case, to let both the crime and its correction be forgotten, from the instant they are thus weighed against one another, and the balance settled. If the old fault be ever again cast up to the offender, it is proof positive that the punishment is not yet over; and the fair measure, or balance alluded to is destroyed. The sufferer sees no chance of future good behaviour re-establishing his character; since he is made to feel, by these undying reminiscences of error and disgrace, that the contamination of his motives is looked upon as indelible.

I have the printed list for 1826 now before me. It has in it the names of 222 cadets, with the demerit numbers against each. Only seven of these are blank, or quite immaculate; the first hundred have all under 80; the next hundred have numbers less than 230; and one poor fellow has 621 black balls against him!

The commandant was kind enough to take me

over the whole establishment, including several of the class-rooms, where the cadets were hard at work in a very business-like manner. My opinion was asked about several points, and of course freely given. I felt scrupulous as to intruding it upon subjects to which my attention was not expressly called, especially as it happened that I was merely asked what things I approved of, never the contrary. There was much, indeed, to commend, and only small matters to object to, and I was quite as well pleased to be called upon to praise. Had it been otherwise, I might have ventured to remark that, according to European rules, the cadets were remarkably deficient in that erect carriage and decided, firm gait, which gives what in the old world is called a military air, and is looked upon as a primary requisite in a soldier. Instead of the chest being braced or held forward, it is drawn back into a concavity, while the shoulders necessarily assume a correspondent roundness. To foreign eyes, nothing can be more awkward than this mode of carrying the body. In justification, however, of the practice at West Point, it is fair to state that it prevails more or less over the whole country; and being nearly as characteristic as the tone of voice, would almost as inevitably betray an American in other parts of the world.

On the next day, 1st of June, we went to Cats-

kill, a very neat respectable town, with a couple of great churches side by side, a broad street, a quarter of a mile long, gay shops, stages and hackney coaches, and all the apparatus of a thriving city. A splendid steam-boat, called the Albany, took us in five hours and three quarters from West Point, a distance of 59 miles, including stops at six different landing places, to take on board and put on shore passengers; thus averaging more than ten miles an hour.

These embarkations and landings are cleverly executed. When the steam-vessel comes within 500 yards of the wharf, or dock, a bell is rung on board to give warning of her approach. A little boat is then lowered into the water with two hands in it, and is towed alongside, till nearly abreast of the dock. The men now put off, and from the velocity acquired by the steam-vessel, easily manage to sheer themselves, as it is termed, to the shore, dragging along with them a small rope, from a coil lying on the deck of the steam-boat. The new comers who are waiting on the shore, jump into the boat as fast as they can, pitching in before them their trunks and bags. When all is ready, one of the seamen in the boat makes a signal to the steam-vessel, which by this time has probably shot to some distance past the dock. As soon as the signal is seen, the end of the rope which

is on board is passed round a roller moved by the machinery, and the boat with her cargo of passengers is drawn swiftly alongside, and little or no time is lost. Regulations exist, I understood, directing steam-vessels to stop their engines entirely, while passengers are landed or taken on board; but as the high fever of competition is strong upon them all, no captain wishes to lose one minute of time, and therefore, on such occasions, the paddle-wheels are merely slackened a little in their speed, and the whole operation is performed with a rapidity by no means agreeable to nerves unaccustomed to fresh-water navigation.

On landing at Catskill dock, sorely shaken and bamboozled with the velocity of this mode of travelling, we found a coach, or as it is called, a stage, ready to take us to the town. An American stage is more like a French diligence than any thing else. Like that vehicle it carries no outside passengers, except one or two on the box. It has three seats inside, two of which are similar to the front and back seats of an English coach, while the third is placed across the middle from window to window, or I might say, from door to door, only these stages very seldom have more than one door. Instead of panels, there hang from the roof leather curtains, which, when buttoned down, render it a close carriage; or when rolled

up and fastened by straps and buttons to the roof, leave it open all round. This for summer travelling is agreeable enough; but how the passengers manage in the severe winters of the north, I do not know; for certainly we found it on many occasions, even in the south, uncomfortably cold. The middle seat is movable on a sort of hinge, that it may be turned, horizontally, out of the way when the door is opened. The three passengers who sit upon it, rest their backs against a stuffed leathern strap, permanently buckled to one side of the carriage, and attached to the other side by means of a stout iron hook. These ponderous stages are supported on strong hide straps, in place of steel springs, and all parts are made of great strength, which is absolutely necessary to enable them to bear the dreadful joltings on the miserable roads they have but too frequently the fate to travel over.

On the 2d of June, we climbed up the beautiful and very steep range of the Catskill mountains, to a place called Pine Orchard, the exact meaning of which appellation I could never come at. There were plenty of pines, indeed, and the scenery both at that spot and all around it was extremely pretty. The valley of the great Hudson lay at our feet, and when standing on the edge of the steep cliffs of the mountain, which faces the east, we could distinguish the river stealing its way

through the fertile low country, for a distance of sixty miles.

Pine Orchard had long been the resort of picnic parties from New York and Albany, even when the worthy citizens had to find their way up or down the river in sailing boats. But upon the introduction of steam, the number of visitors increased so rapidly, that the slender accommodation afforded to the clouds of tourists by a few miserable sheds, was quite inadequate. One of the enterprising companies, however, which abound in that country, soon found, in a money speculation, a remedy for this matter. Straightway there rose up, like an exhalation, a splendid hotel, on the very brink of the precipice, some five-and-twenty hundred feet above the river.

It was a part of our plan to take all things leisurely; we therefore deferred till the next day our visit to the Falls of the Cauterskill, and to the valley called the Clove, which, by cutting or cleaving these mountains by a deep indenture, shows off the scenery to great advantage. The excursion cost us five hours' work; for we had to scramble or push our way at some places amongst forests growing on banks so abrupt that it was difficult to get along; or we had to pick our way across angry-looking water-courses on crazy, rickety planks, or what was still worse, on stepping-stones, both slippery

and unsteady. The fatigue of these pioneering operations, added to the labour of admiring, made us enjoy all the more our snug little dinner alone, on our return. As the fashionable season had not yet set in, we had the whole house to ourselves; and this being the case, we had time to look back upon the last few weeks, and speculate upon the new country in which we found ourselves.

On returning from the mountains to the peaceful-looking village of Catskill, we heard the sound of drums beating, and saw on all sides standards flying and troops moving about—certainly the last sight we had expected to witness. It happened to be the period of one of the militia trainings, of which several occur during the year. Nothing could look more unmilitary than these troops; and I much question the policy of keeping up such a loose system of discipline, and of exercise, as I saw at the militia trainings in that country. The chances certainly are, that in the event of real service, it would be a much easier thing to bring persons totally unpractised, into good fighting order, than to unteach the bad habits inevitably acquired at these multifarious, but ill-regulated, and too often dissipated, meetings. Such at least was the opinion of almost all the military men, whether natives or foreigners, with whom I conversed in America.

The light company of one of the regiments dined

at the tavern in which we lodged. I joined the party, in hopes of being able to get some chat with these citizen soldiers. But one and all, officers and privates, snatched up their dinner in such a hurry, that in less than fifteen minutes I found myself with only one other person in the room. This gentleman, perceiving me to be a stranger, and I suppose looking rather adrift,—I am sure I felt so,—introduced himself to me, and was afterwards very kind and useful in showing me the place, and in explaining many things which I could make nothing of alone.

In Wätterston's Tables, printed at Washington in January 1829, the militia of the United States in 1827 is stated at eleven hundred and fifty thousand, one hundred and fifty-eight. The estimated population of the whole country, including above a million and a half of slaves, on the 1st of January 1828, was eleven millions, three hundred and forty-eight thousand, four hundred and sixty-two, which makes every eleventh person, or, if we exclude the slaves, every tenth person, a militia man.

The number of training days varies in different parts of the Union. Generally speaking, however, I believe there are from four to six days of training in the course of the year. The government provides muskets at the cost of about eight dollars each. The militia receive no pay, except when

called into actual service, and then they are paid exactly as the regular army.

The higher classes of militia officers in most of the states are nominated by the governor, and appointed by him, with the consent of the senate of the state. The captains, subalterns, and non-commissioned officers, are elected by the written votes of the respective companies. The laws relating to the militia occupy a great space in all the different states, and are a never-ending source of discussion.

As there was every prospect of a noisy evening at all the Catskill taverns, we resolved to shift our quarters as soon as the sun had fallen low enough to make the air agreeable. Accordingly, we ordered a carriage, and drove through a richly wooded and populous country, on the right or western bank of the river, for about five miles. This brought us to the village of Athens, where a commodious horse ferry-boat carried us across to one of the quietest and neatest little places we had yet seen.

Just as the sun was setting behind the high range of the Catskill mountains, we strolled out of the town, without knowing or caring much where we went. We soon found ourselves on the brow of a rich grassy knoll, overlooking a sort of bay or bend of our favourite Hudson, which we were never tired of looking upon. The sky was so clear, that the grass and wild flowers, shortly after sunset, be-

gan to catch a little moisture, from whence rose up, on every side, a fresh flowery smell; which, together with the cool, light air of wind, breathing along the water, whose face it scarcely seemed to touch, was inexpressibly refreshing, and helped to restore our languid spirits, nearly subdued by the fatigues of a long, sultry, busy day. The child, who had accompanied us all the morning, though unconscious of the cause, likewise felt the genial influence of the hour, and amused herself at our feet while we were seated on the grass, by trying to imitate the sounds made by a pig, which had thrust himself most unpoetically into the foreground of the picture, and there busied himself, much to the infant's amusement, in making a line of circumvallation round the party with his snout.

Of course it had been a great subject of discussion before leaving England, whether or not we should bring this young lady with us on the journey; and at the particular moment I have been describing, when the first plunge was to be made into a sea of difficulties and hazardous adventures, it was impossible not to feel anxious, and sometimes distrustful, of the wisdom of the decision which had been made. But on the other hand, our confidence in the measure alluded to, was much increased by discovering how good a traveller the little creature made, though only fourteen months old. Of this

we had an amusing proof on the morning after the scene with the pig. At four o'clock we were all roused up to prepare for the steam-boat, which passed at five. I thought it a pity to awake her, and therefore merely wrapped her up in my boat-cloak, in which she was carried fully half a mile to the landing place. There the young adventurer was laid on the table of a warehouse, in the midst of bells ringing, doors banging, and all kinds of noise, till the steam-boat hove in sight. Still she slept on through all the clatter of the passengers and paddle-wheels; nor ever stirred or opened her eyes, till we had left the pretty town of Hudson many miles astern.

In the course of the morning of the 5th of June we reached the city of Albany, the capital, or rather the seat of government, of the state of New York. The real capital, as far as wealth, population, and importance in all respects are concerned, is the great commercial city at the mouth of the river, which gives the name to this flourishing portion of the Union.

Albany, however, has lately been brought into considerable mercantile importance, as a place of transit and deposit, by the great Erie Canal, the eastern entrance to which lies almost within the town. Much of the intercourse, too, between New York and the Canadas, and between the thriving

state of Ohio to the westward, and New England to the eastward, passes through Albany; so that even before the genius and perseverance of Fulton had shown how to cover the Hudson with steamboats, it was necessarily a great point of call. Since the period alluded to, the intercourse has been multiplied many hundred fold, and Albany, in consequence, is rapidly swelling on every hand.

Formerly the passage from New York to Albany was considered an affair of a week or ten days—three days was called good, and forty-eight hours excellent—though a fortnight was not very uncommon. Now, however, the same voyage is currently made in thirteen hours, sometimes in twelve, and it has been done, I am told, in little more than eleven; which, considering that the distance is 145 miles, is great going.

What would good old Hendrick Hudson, the original founder of the colony, have said, had he looked out of his grave, and seen our gallant steamer, the Constellation, come flying past him like a comet, at the rate of twelve knots an hour? He would be apt enough to declare, that it was the veritable Flying Dutchman, of which so much has been told; and his first emotions might probably be those of envy at the glorious pipe his spectre countryman was smoking. But if any body were to attempt to convince him that the apparition he saw dash-

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ing by at the peep of day, was a ship without sails or oars, which had left Manhattan Island, or New York, at sunset the evening before, the worthy old gentleman could scarcely be blamed for declaring the whole story, with all its circumstances, a parcel of monstrous lies.

It is not Albany alone, however, that is benefited by these numerous and swift-moving vessels. The country, both above and below, and on both banks of the river, derives from them nearly equal advantages. Stony Point, West Point, and fifty other points, and towns, and burgs,—Sparta, Poughkeepsie, Fishkill, Newburgh, Troy, Glasgow, Gibbonsville, and so on, line the sides of this immense artery, through which are poured the resources of the interior, and by which also the productions of every corner of the globe are sent back to the heart of the country. Few seaport towns in the world can pretend to any comparison with New York; which unites in itself advantages of the highest order for all the purposes of external commerce, backed by at least commensurate advantages on the land side. These cannot be rivalled in America; for it is not probable that any artificial means can succeed in constructing another such harbour; and I venture to prophesy, that the various attempts now making to outdo the Erie Canal must inevitably fail. Nature is on the side of New York; and

that energetic state has taken such advantage of the alliance, that her citizens need have no fears about maintaining the ascendency.

The great canal which extends from the Hudson to Lake Erie, sending out a feeler to Lake Ontario by the way, and another to Lake Champlain, is carried through a country so peculiarly adapted to all canalling purposes, as the local phrase is, that the result, contrary to the usual analogy, has answered the expectations of its projectors. In this view it is pleasing to think that its main supporter, through all its trials, and doubts, and difficulties, Mr De Witt Clinton, lived to see its complete success, and to reap, in words at least, the full acknowledgments of his country.

That these grateful returns were unaccompanied by more solid rewards, is a source of regret with every right-thinking man I met with in America. The starving policy which denies to meritorious public servants any permanent provision, after a life devoted to the public service, must of course lessen the motives to useful ambition amongst the persons most deserving of distinction, because most competent to exercise power, and thus, in the long run, the public will inevitably be much worse served. There is a medium, surely, between wanton profusion, and absolute, indiscriminate neglect—a point in the scale of remunera-

tion of some kind or other, which would command the highest order of talents and of exertion for the service of the state. In America, however, the universal policy—or at all events the practice—is to cast public servants adrift, and penniless, the moment their services are no longer required. The enthusiastic reception of La Fayette in America, so often quoted in disproof of the proverbial ingratitude of republics, obviously weighs little in the scale against the neglect of Jefferson, Monroe, Clinton, and other statesmen, whose lives were devoted to their country—and with their lives, unhappily also, their fortunes.

On the 6th of June we set out upon an excursion into the neighbouring state of Massachusetts, in what is called an accommodation stage, which gave us the advantage of travelling by day; whereas the regular coach started at night. The journey was only 38 miles, but, owing to the rough and hilly roads, the dilatory mode of changing horses, and the eternal stopping to water them, it cost us eight hours and a half of very hard work; rendered still more disagreeable by the heat and the dust, and by the stage being crammed quite full.

It is said that nothing interests readers of travels more than being told what were the very first impressions made by the presence of new scenes;

I shall therefore venture, from time to time, to state exactly what was their earliest effect upon our minds. Some of these impressions, it is true, proved erroneous; but others bore the rubbing of subsequent experience, with an exactness which often surprises me when I look over my early notes. One of the greatest difficulties of travelling, indeed, is to distinguish fairly between those circumstances which are permanently characteristic, and those which are contingent upon transient causes. Perhaps, therefore, as this art is not to be taught by any mistress but experience, every journey ought to be made twice over. But in the meantime, as it may be a long while before I engage in this double duty in the case of America, I must take my chance of recording things as they appeared at the first trial, and leave them to shift for themselves.

Many things occurred during this trip into Massachusetts to revive those ideas, in which probably most people have indulged their fancy at some time of their lives, as to what might possibly have been the state of travelling, and other things, in Europe a century ago. At other moments there came across our view little circumstances which irresistibly linked our thoughts to the present date and place; and anon others started up, which were so exactly English in appearance, that we almost forgot

how far we were off, till suddenly recalled to the spot by some touch of foreign idiom, or manners, or scenery.

On reaching the village of West Stockbridge, where we understood our friend resided, we learnt that he lived at Old Stockbridge, and that we had still five miles farther to go, "unless, perhaps," said a person standing at the tavern door, "the gentleman you speak of may be at New Stockbridge." Here was a jumble! But at last we obtained a guide, who undertook to carry us in a one-horse waggon, as it is called, but which we should call a light cart, with seats placed in it resting on wooden springs. Away we drove at a round pace, through a wooded and rather hilly country, interspersed with patches of cultivated land in the valleys, and innumerable houses of all sorts and sizes, from wooden cottages to handsome villas and great staring taverns. At length, some time after sunset, when the twilight had nearly gone, we passed through a large village consisting entirely, as it seemed in this uncertain light, of gentlemen's houses, almost hid in the foliage or lost in the shadows of the trees planted in thick groups round them. The street, or rather avenue, through which we passed, and which could not be less than thirty paces across, was lined with double rows of tall trees, somewhat in the fashion of an Italian corso,

or the beautiful prado of Spanish cities, and I almost fancied that even in those picturesque countries I had never seen a prettier place. Troops of people were sitting before their doors, or in their gardens; all the windows were thrown open; and we could see quite through the houses. My imagination was carried away to the region of the tropics, where alone I had seen such a picture before.

After an agreeable jaunt of five days in Massachusetts, we returned to Albany. If a traveller were to attempt to describe every thing he saw, or even a small part of what he generally finds time to record, he would never have an end of writing. The difficulty of selecting characteristic objects to describe on the journey, is only equalled by that of selecting topics from his journal for publication. In one case, he is overwhelmed with novelty and ignorance; in the other, he may come to be embarrassed with a superabundance of materials, and be greatly perplexed in selecting the sketches most fit to be engraved. He ought, it is true, to give only those outlines, which, however incompletely, shall represent, as far as they go, with as much correctness as possible, the impressions really made upon his own mind by what was seen and heard. To transfer such recorded feelings to others long afterwards, is always a difficult task; for passages will sometimes occur in a journal which

the writer can scarcely believe were set down by his own hand, so completely have the ideas which gave them birth fled away, before new sentiments and new opinions. His study perhaps ought to be, to conduct those who do him the favour to go along with him, as nearly as he can, through the same course of varied observation and fluctuating reflection which he actually followed himself, however devious that path may have been. He will have a sort of right in that case to have it understood by his readers, that however little any particular circumstance may seem to them at first to bear on the subject in hand, nothing should be supposed irrelevant merely on that account; but, more or less, be considered as intended to act in its way like a tributary stream, or feeder, to the general current of information, which his means may have enabled him to bring, from distant sources, to the great ocean of public knowledge.

For my own part, I am nowise anxious to bring others to my way of thinking; but I certainly am most anxious to explain distinctly what my opinions and feelings really are; and also to show that they were formed, not by fostering prejudices, or by predetermining to see things in certain lights, but by the gradual progress of a pretty extensive observation, varied and checked in a thousand ways, and under circumstances probably as favour-

able as a traveller could expect to meet with, and perhaps better than most natives could hope to find, even if their own country were the object of research.

At this early stage of the journey, I find from my notes that the most striking circumstance in the American character, which had come under our notice, was the constant habit of praising themselves, their institutions, and their country, either in downright terms, or by some would-be indirect allusions, which were still more tormenting. I make use of this sharp-edged word, because it really was exceedingly teasing, when we were quite willing and ready to praise all that was good, and also to see every thing, whether good or bad, in the fairest light, to be called upon so frequently to admit the justice of such exaggerations. It is considered, I believe, all over the world, as bad manners for a man to praise himself or his family. Now, to praise one's country appears, to say the least of it, in the next degree of bad taste.

It was curious to see with what vigilant adroitness the Americans availed themselves of every little circumstance to give effect to this self-laudatory practice. I happened one day to mention to a lady, that I had been amused by observing how much more the drivers of the stages managed their horses by word of mouth, than by touch of the

whip. Upon which she replied, "Oh yes, sir, the circumstance you relate is very interesting, as it shows both intelligence in the men, and sagacity in the animals." This was pretty well; but I merely smiled and said nothing, being somewhat tickled by this amiable interchange of human wisdom and brute sagacity. The lady's suspicions however instantly took fire on seeing the expression of my countenance, and she answered my smile by saying, "Nay, sir, do you not think the people in America, upon the whole, particularly intelligent?"

Thus it ever was, in great things as well as in small, on grave or ludicrous occasions; they were eternally on the defensive, and gave us to understand that they suspected us of a design to find fault, at times when nothing on earth was farther from our thoughts. Whenever any thing favourable happened, by chance or otherwise, to be stated with respect to England, there was straightway a fidget, till the said circumstance was counterbalanced by something equally good, or much better, in America. To such an extent was this jealous fever carried, that I hardly recollect above half-a-dozen occasions during the whole journey, when England was mentioned, that the slightest interest of an agreeable kind was manifested on the part of the audience; or that a brisk cross fire was not

instantly opened on all hands, to depreciate what had been said; or which was still more frequent, to build up something finer, or taller, or larger, in America to overmatch it. It always occurred to me, that they paid themselves and their institutions the very poorest description of compliment by this course of proceeding; and it would be quite easy to show why.

During our stay in the State of Massachusetts, we visited the very curious establishment of Shakers, at a place called Lebanon. But after drawing up an account of these people for publication, I have decided, upon second thoughts, to say nothing about them, except that they appear to be a very orderly, industrious, and harmless set of persons. The circumstance about their establishment most open to remark, is the conduct of their religious duties;—and though I have witnessed some strange forms of worship in former travels, I cannot say that I ever beheld any thing, even in Hindoostan, to match these Shakers. But there is always something so objectionable in treating any religious observance with levity, however ridiculous it may appear to persons of a different persuasion, that I think it right to sacrifice altogether what amusement a description of the proceedings at Lebanon might afford. If I had any idea, indeed, that these absurdities—or what certainly

seemed such to our eyes, were likely to spread in the world, this delicacy would be misplaced. And I make this reservation because in the further prosecution of the journey, I did encounter some religious anomalies apparently not less absurd, and far more likely to be mischievous, by their extent and authority, than the innocent caperings of these honest Shakers.

CHAPTER IV.

On the 14th of June 1827, we left Albany to proceed to the western country, and then really felt that we had fairly commenced our journey. The first grand stage we proposed to make was Niagara; but on the way to that celebrated spot, we expected to see the grand Erie canal, the newly settled districts lying on its banks, and many other interesting objects besides.

As there is no posting in any part of the United States, travellers must either consent to go in the public stage, or take their own horses and carriage, or they may hire what is called an extra, which is the nearest approach to posting in that country. On the road between Albany and Niagara, where there is much travelling, an extra exclusive, as it is called, may be hired to go at whatever rate, up to a certain limit, the traveller pleases. I made an arrangement with the proprietor of one of the regular lines of coaches,

who agreed to give me a stage entirely for myself and family all the way from Albany to the Falls of Niagara, for 115 dollars, or about £24, 10s., a distance of 324 miles. It was stipulated that we might go the whole distance in three days; or, if more agreeable, we might take three weeks. When we chose to make any deviation from the direct stage line, another carriage was to be hired, of which I was to defray the expense; but I was left at liberty to resume my extra on regaining the high road. In no other part of America are there any such facilities for travelling as we found on the road in question.

The first day's journey took us to Schenectady, distant only 16 miles in a direct line from Albany; but twice as far by the route we followed, in order to see the junction of the Erie canal, with the branch which connects it with lake Champlain. Near the village called Juneta, we had an opportunity of examining a string of nine locks, by which the canal is raised to the level of the country lying to the westward of Albany. I have seldom known a more busy scene. Crowds of boats laden with flour, grain, and other agricultural produce, were met by others as deeply laden with goods from all parts of the world, ready to be distributed over the populous regions of the west.

On the way we looked in at one of the United

States arsenals, at a place called Watervliet, where we saw about fifty thousand stand of arms in good order. If need were, there can be no doubt that this bristling mass of dormant strength would soon be called into action for the purposes of national defence.

We now crossed the river Hudson, "On the opposite side of which," says the road-book called the Northern Traveller, "stands Troy, a very handsome town, with fine hills in the rear, the most prominent of which has received the name of Mount Ida, to correspond with the classic appellation of the place. There is here a good horse ferry, &c."—What was more to our purpose, we found a school recently established by one of the wealthiest and most public-spirited men in the country, the principle of which differs from that of all others with which I am acquainted. The object is to instruct young men as schoolmasters, or rather as teachers of different mechanical arts and sciences. The munificent patron of this institution, after having thus assisted the scholars, supplies them, when duly qualified, with money and with proper recommendations, and sends them over the country to get employment. The arrangements seemed to be admirable; and the principle, though rather quaint and unusual, was, I thought, so good, that I learnt with regret, long afterwards, from the founder

himself, that the example he had set had not been followed by any one else, and consequently, the good he had hoped to do was comparatively circumscribed.

In one of the New England states I heard of an institution, analogous in its purpose, for educating schoolmasters.

All this sight-seeing, including the proper allowance of rapture at the Cahoes Falls, on the Mohawk, not only fatigued us, but made us so exceedingly hungry, that we entreated the driver to stop if he came near any place at which we had a chance of getting something to eat. He smiled, and shook his head very knowingly, but made no reply, only giving his horses a slight touch with the whip, and calling out to them "Go alang!" Away we struggled through mountains of sand, dashing into ruts a cubit in depth, and casting up clouds of dust which enveloped the whole party. At length, when we were wellnigh choked, our eyes caught a glimpse of a sign-post, the board on which was swinging and creaking mournfully in the wind, with the cheerful word Inn staring us in the face in goodly characters. Our thoughts were instantly carried back to the regions of veal cutlets and red cabbage pickles in merry England; —but alas! we were far too much in earnest to have

the hungry edge of our appetites cloyed by any such bare imaginations of a feast.

At length, in about half an hour, we sat down to some bread and butter, a miserable bit of hung beef, which had been kept much too long, and a plate of eggs,—altogether a very poor dinner. We had not expected much, it is true, in such an unfrequented part of the road, and therefore, instead of grumbling, made a good laugh of the matter.

Our scraggy meal over, it was time to start again; but on looking out of the window to speak to the driver, I observed he was no longer with his horses, and therefore stepped into the kitchen to look for him. Here my gentleman was seated at table, dining very comfortably on a good, honest joint of roast lamb, large enough to have served all the party, the said driver inclusive!

This was a problem in hospitality which I could by no means solve, and therefore took occasion afterwards to ask the driver how it happened that he had screwed out of the people on the hill so much better fare than we had been able to obtain with all our entreaties?

"Why, sir," said the fellow, with a half sort of grin, "they were some bashful about putting such a shabby bit of meat on table to you. It was what they had been dining off themselves, and

they did not think it decent to put broken victuals down to strangers." Here was etiquette with a vengeance! "They fancied, I suppose," added the driver, laughing, "that the credit of their house would be hurt by serving you so."

"And I suppose," cried I, a little nettled, "that your friends fancied the credit of their house would be hurt by making a moderate charge in the bill?"

We got to Schenectady about sunset, and were greatly interested by the bustle of stage coaches arriving and departing, and by the numerous canal boats dashing up to the wharf in the very centre of the town; and immediately setting off again, all crowded with passengers; the whole wearing an air of business and dispatch highly characteristic.

Next day, after visiting Union College, we left Schenectady in the canal packet, and were towed along at the rate of three miles and a half per hour upon the average, until 10 o'clock at night, when we reached a village with a long Indian name, Caughnawaga, the pronunciation of which I shall not attempt to teach, any more than that of the place we had left, Schenectady, of which, by the by, we made sad work ourselves.

The day, most fortunately for us, was cloudy, the air extremely pleasant, and the dust being well washed off the trees by two heavy thunder-showers of the day before, every thing looked rich and

green. The canal for the distance of 26 miles, which we travelled upon it, winds along the base of a low and prettily wooded bank on the south side of the Mohawk river. Our perpendicular height above the stream may have been 30 or 40 feet, by which elevation we commanded a range of prospect, both up and down, of great extent and variety. The Mohawk is studded with many islands, and long projecting, flat, wooded points, lying in the tortuous reaches or bendings of the stream. The vigour of the spring tints had not yet yielded to the withering effects of the fierce summer. Be the cause what it may, I cannot conceive a more beautiful combination of verdure; and as the windings of the canal brought us in sight of fresh vistas, new cultivation, new villages, new bridges, new aqueducts, rose at every moment, mingled up with scattered dwellings, mills, churches, all span new. The scene looked really one of enchantment. We sat during most of the day on deck, with our little girl running about at the end of a shawl, by which she was tethered, for better security against tumbling overboard.

Travellers, I think, are generally more apt to look back with interest to such a period, than to admit at the time that they were pleased. But we were fully under the avowed consciousness of be-

ing very happy, with a boundless field of novel interest stretching far before us.

Nothing on earth, however, it should seem, is without some drawback, and our day dreams accordingly were much disturbed by the necessity of stepping hastily down off the deck, as often as we had to pass under one of the innumerable little bridges, built across the canal. Their height was barely sufficient for the boat to shoot through, and at first, when called to by the steersmen, "Bridge! —Passengers!—mind the low bridge!" it was rather amusing to hop down and then to hop up again; but by and by, this skipping about became very tiresome, and marred the tranquillity of the day very much.

There are two cabins in these canal barges; one of which is for the ladies, with eight beds, and really not very uncomfortable-looking. In the gentlemen's cabin there was no appearance of beds, only a line of lockers along each side. After supper, however, about 8 o'clock, I was surprised to see these lockers folded out into a range of beds. But what struck me as being extremely ingenious, was a second or higher tier of sleeping births, formed by a number of broad shelves, as it were; little frames with laced sacking bottoms, hinged to the sides of the cabin midway between the roof or upper deck and the lower beds.

These airy resting places, or nests, were held in their horizontal position at night by two supporting cords fastened to the roof of the cabin, and, in the day time, were allowed to hang down against the vessel's side like the leaf of a table. On coming to the locks in the canal, the passengers generally leaped out, and got a run of half a mile, or a mile a-head.

By the time we reached Caughnawaga, we were so completely tired, that we resolved, over night, not to start early, though it was desirable to avoid the heat, and also gain time. Accordingly, it was past 8 o'clock, which was very late, before we got fairly off in our extra stage; as we had found one day of the canal quite enough. The landlady attended the breakfast table herself, and when nothing required her to be moving about, she sat down at the side of the room. At a place called the Little Falls, where we stopped to dine, a pretty young woman, apparently the daughter of the master of the house, also served us at dinner. When her immediate attendance was not required, she sat down in the window with her work, exactly as if she had been one of the party. There was nothing, however, in the least degree forward or impudent in this; on the contrary, it was done quietly and respectfully, though with perfect ease, and without the least consciousness of its being contrary to

European manners. In the great towns of America, indeed, such freedoms are not used. It is there possible to hire servants—bad ones it is true—but still such as never dream of mixing in company. At Schenectady, which is not far from the town of Albany, the attendants at the public table were of a very mixed description. The chief waiter was an elderly, sallow man, with wild, flowing hair, reaching to his shoulders. His first assistant was a sharp-faced, well-tanned, old woman in spectacles; next came a black boy; then a black girl; and lastly, two young women, between black and white. These variegated waiters served forty people; but it was very rarely indeed, during our subsequent travels, that we were half so well attended.

Every person in the house sits down at these public tables; though the higher places, or those near the landlord, who presides, are always given up to strangers, or to persons of the most consequence present; for, of course, there must be some distinctions, let them say what they will about universal equality. At Schenectady when we went to tea, as the six o'clock meal is termed, we found the party seated. The landlord called to us to come to the top of the table; but I suppose we had not distinctly understood him, and therefore took our places at the other end. As all the faces were

equally new to us, and the dresses pretty much alike, we knew nothing of the distinctive ranks of the company. But next morning I recognised in a gentleman I had sat next at tea, the identical person who had twice served me over night with a glass of iced-water at the bar.

By the way, of ice; this great luxury, we found every where in profusion, even in the cottages; and an ice-pit near the house appears to be a matter of course. The mischief is, that one is tempted in consequence to drink too much water, and this, to a stranger entering a limestone country, is not a harmless indulgence by any means.

On the 18th of June we reached Utica, a town recently built, and standing near the canal. From thence we made an excursion to Trenton Falls, which are well worth seeing; but as I am not so sure of their being equally acceptable in description, I shall pass them by; though I should by no means recommend travellers to follow such an example.

All the world over, I suspect the great mass of people care mighty little about scenery, and visit such places merely for the sake of saying they have been there. I own, however, that I was at first rather taken in with respect to this matter in America; and really fancied, from the flaming descriptions we had given us of the wonders and beauties

of the country, that the persons describing it were more than usually sensible to its charms; but we now began to suspect, most grievously, that our friends, of whom we were striving with all our might to think well in every point, were, like most folks elsewhere, nearly as insensible to the beauties of nature, as we had reason to fear, from their public exhibitions, they were to the graces of art.

On board the steam-boats on the superb Hudson, and in the canal-boat on the pretty Mohawk, the scenery was either unheeded, or when noticed at all, was looked at by our companions with indifference. There was, I grant, now and then, a great deal of talk about such things; and we had seen in their road-books and other writings much about the extraordinary wonders, and the natural beauties of their country; but as yet, generally speaking, we had met a perfect insensibility to either, on the part of the inhabitants. Neither is this to be explained by supposing them to have become too well acquainted with the objects in question; for I think it happens generally, that when there is a real, and not an imaginary, perception of the beauties of nature, the pleasure arising from their contemplation goes on increasing; and habit, so far from rendering such scenes too familiar to be interesting, only contributes to unfold new points for admiration. Since, however, it is impos-

sible to maintain artificial rapture for more than a few minutes, it is easier to say nothing at all; and thus we have an explanation of the anomaly alluded to.

A large party of tourists whom we encountered at Trenton Falls, in returning from a walk, which in any other country would, I am sure, have furnished conversation for hours afterwards, and the gossip arising out of which would have been thought by far the best part of the fun, said not one word about the day's excursion, but sat down to dinner as sad and silent as if we had lost one of our companions over the cliff—a fatal accident, by the way, which did occur to another party only a few days afterwards. The sole occupation that elicited any thing like animation, during the whole ramble, was reading in the album—which, like all albums, was filled with the flattest trash that human dulness, inspired by compulsion, can produce. The said album was placed in a sort of shed, near the prettiest part of the falls, in what is denominated a bar, anglicè, a tap, or grog-shop. These odious places, truth bids me say, stared us in the face every where; and that no one should mistake, the letters B, A, R, were written up most conspicuously. On board steamboats, there were generally two, one upon deck, and one below. In the Museum, at Albany, we happened to take the wrong turn, and by going to

the right hand instead of the left, found ourselves at the said eternal bar. At the theatres it is the same; at the Cauterskill Falls we saw two; one on each side of the cataract, to the utter ruin of the unhappy sublime and beautiful. In all countries such things are, undoubtedly, to be found, and too often, I grant, in similar places; and I should most certainly not have made these remarks, but for their unusual profusion in America, and the important part which ardent spirits appear to act in almost every scene.

On the 19th of June we reached the village of Syracuse, through the very centre of which the Erie Canal passes. During the drive we had opportunities of seeing the land in various stages of its progress, from the dense, black, tangled, native forest—up to the highest stages of cultivation, with wheat and barley waving over it: or from that melancholy and very hopeless-looking state of things, when the trees are laid prostrate upon the earth, one upon top of another, and a miserable log-hut is the only symptom of man's residence,—to such gay and thriving places as Syracuse; with fine broad streets, large and commodious houses, gay shops, and stage-coaches, waggons, and gigs flying past, all in a bustle. In the centre of the village, we could see from our windows the canal thickly covered with freight boats and packets, glancing si-

lently past, and shooting like arrows through the bridges, some of which were of stone, and some of painted wood. The canal at this place has been made of double its ordinary width, and being bent into an agreeable degree of curvature, to suit the turn of the streets, the formality is removed, as well as the ditch-like appearance which generally belongs to canals. The water, also, is made to rise almost level with the towing path, which improves the effect. I was amused by seeing, amongst the throng of loaded boats, a gaily-painted vessel lying in state, with the words CLEOPATRA'S BARGE painted in large characters on her broadside.

In the course of 50 miles' travelling, we came repeatedly in sight of almost every successive period of agricultural advancement through which America has run, or is actually running. At one place we found ourselves amongst the Oneyda tribe of Indians, living on a strip of land called a reservation, from being appropriated exclusively to these poor remains of the former absolute masters of the territory—the native burghers of the forest! They were dressed in blankets, with leggings of skin laced not very tightly, and reaching to the hide mocasins on their feet. Their painted faces, and lank, black, oily hair, made them look as like savages as any lion-hunting travellers could have desired.

In merely passing along the road, it was of course difficult to form any conjecture as to how much of the country was cleared; especially as new settlers naturally cling to canals, roads, and lakes, and it was such settlers only that we saw. Sometimes our track lay through a thick forest for a mile or two; though, generally speaking, the country for some distance on both sides of the road was thickly strewed with houses. Every now and then we came to villages, consisting of several hundred houses; and in the middle I observed there were always several churches surmounted by spires, painted with some showy colour, and giving a certain degree of liveliness or finish to scenes in other respects rude enough. In general, however, it must be owned, there prevailed a most uncomfortable appearance of bleakness or rawness, and a total absence of picturesque beauty in these villages; whose dreary aspect was much heightened by the black sort of gigantic wall formed of the abrupt edge of the forest, choked up with underwood, now for the first time exposed to the light of the sun.

The cleared spaces, however, as they are called, looked to our eyes not less desolate, being studded over with innumerable great black stumps; or, which was more deplorable still, with tall scorched, branchless stems of trees, which had undergone the barbarous operation known by the

name of girdling. An American settler can hardly conceive the horror with which a foreigner beholds such numbers of magnificent trees standing round him with their throats cut, the very Banquos of the murdered forest! The process of girdling is this: a circular cut or ring, two or three inches deep, is made with an axe quite round the tree at about five feet from the ground. This, of course, puts an end to vegetable life; and the destruction of the tree being accelerated by the action of fire, these wretched trunks in a year or two present the most miserable objects of decrepitude that can be conceived. The purpose, however, of the farmer is gained, and that is all he can be expected to look to. His corn crop is no longer overshadowed by the leaves of these unhappy trees, which, in process of time, are cut down and split into railings, or sawed into billets of firewood,—and their misery is at an end.

Even in the cultivated fields, the tops of the stumps were seen poking their black snouts above the young grain, like a shoal of seals. Not a single hedge or wall was to be seen in those places, all the enclosures being made of split logs, built one upon the top of another in a zig-zag fashion, like what the ladies call a Vandyke border. These are named snake fences, and are certainly the most ungraceful-looking things I ever saw.

Most of the houses are built of rough unbarked logs, nicked at the ends so as to fit closely and firmly; and roofed with planks. The better sort of dwellings, however, are made of squared timbers framed together neatly enough, and boarded over, at the sides and ends; and then roofed with shingles, which are a sort of oblong wooden slates. The houses are generally left unpainted, and being scattered about without order, look more like a collection of great packing boxes, than the human residences which the eye is accustomed to see in old countries. In the more cleared and longer settled parts of the country, we saw many detached houses, which might almost be called villas, very neatly got up, with rows of wooden columns in front, shaded by trees and tall shrubs running round and across the garden, which was prettily fenced in, and embellished with a profusion of flowers.

Sometimes a whole village, such as that of Whitesborough, was composed entirely of these detached villas; and as most of the houses were half hid in the thick foliage of the elm-trees round them, they looked cool and comfortable when compared with the new and half-burnt, and in many places burning country, only a few miles off.

The village of Utica stands a step higher in this progressive scale of civilisation; for it has several church spires rising over it, and at no great dis-

tance an institution, called Hamilton College, intended, I was told, for the higher branches of science. We also visited Syracuse, a village with extensive salt-works close to it; and had numerous opportunities of examining the Erie canal, and the great high-road to Buffalo;—so that what with towns and cities, Indians, forests, cleared and cultivated lands, girdled trees, log-houses, painted churches, villas, canals, and manufactories, and hundreds of thousands of human beings, starting into life, all within the ken of one day's rapid journey, there was plenty of stuff for the imagination to work upon.

It has been the fashion of travellers in America, I am told—for I have read no travels in that country—to ridicule the practice of giving to unknown and inconsiderable villages, the names of places long hallowed by classical recollections. I was disposed, however, at one time to think, that there was nothing absurd in the matter. I did not deny that, on first looking at the map, and more particularly on hearing stage-drivers and stage-passengers, talking of Troy, Ithaca, and Rome, and still more when I heard them speaking of the towns of Cicero, Homer, or Manlius, an involuntary smile found its way to the lips, followed often by a good hearty laugh. The oddity and incongruity of the thing were much heightened by the admixture of such

modern appellations as Truxton, Sullivan, and Tompkins, jumbled up with the Indian names of Onondaga, Oneida, and Chitteningo.

A little longer personal acquaintance with the subject, however, led me to a different conclusion. All those uncourteous, and at first irrepressible, feelings of ridicule, were, I hoped, quite eradicated; and I tried to fancy that there was something very interesting, almost amiable, in any circumstances, no matter how trivial, which contributed to show, even indirectly, that these descendants of ours were still willing to keep up the old and generous recollections of their youth; and although they had broken the cords of national union, that they were still disposed to bind themselves to us, by the ties of classical sentiment at least. For these reasons, then, I was inclined to approve, in theory, of the taste which had appropriated the ancient names alluded to. I had also a sort of hope, that the mere use of the words would insensibly blend with their present occupations, and so keep alive some traces of the old spirit, described to me as fast melting away.

By the same train of friendly reasoning, I was led to imagine it possible, that the adoption of such names as Auburn,—"loveliest village of the plain," —Port Byron, and the innumerable Londons, Dublins, Edinburghs, and so on, were indicative of a

latent or lingering kindliness towards the old country. The notion, that it was degrading to the venerable Roman names to fix them upon these mushroom towns in the wilderness, I combated, I flattered myself, somewhat adroitly, on the principle that, so far from the memory of Ithaca or Syracuse, or any such place, being degraded by the appropriation, the honour rather lay with the ancients, who, it is the fashion to take for granted, enjoyed a less amount of freedom and intelligence than their modern namesakes.

"Let us," I said one day, to a friend who was impugning these doctrines, "let us take Syracuse for example, which in the year 1820 consisted of one house, one mill, and one tavern: now, in 1827, it holds fifteen hundred inhabitants, has two large churches, innumerable wealthy shops filled with goods, brought there by water-carriage from every corner of the globe; two large and splendid hotels; many dozens of grocery stores or whisky-shops; several busy printing presses, from one of which issues a weekly newspaper; a daily post from the east, the south, and the west; has a broad canal running through its bosom;—in short, it is a great and free city. Where is this to be matched," I exclaimed, "in ancient Italy or Greece?"

It grieves me much, however, to have the ungracious task forced upon me of entirely demolishing

my own plausible handiwork. But truth renders it necessary to declare, that after a longer acquaintance with all these matters, I discovered that I was all in the wrong, and that there was not a word of sense in what I had uttered with so much studied candour. What is the most provoking proof that this fine doctrine of profitable associations was practically absurd, is the fact that even I myself, though comparatively so little acquainted with the classical-sounding places in question, have, alas! seen and heard enough of them to have nearly all my classical recollections swept away by the contact. Now, therefore, whenever I meet with the name of a Roman city, or an author, or a general, instead of having my thoughts carried back, as heretofore, to the regions of antiquity, I am transported forthwith, in imagination, to the post-road on my way to Lake Erie, and my joints and bones turn sore at the bare recollection of joltings, and other nameless vulgar annoyances by day and by night, which, I much fear, will outlive all the little classical knowledge of my juvenile days.

On the 20th of June, we left Syracuse after a pleasant excursion to the salt-works at Salina in that neighbourhood; and reached Auburn at nine o'clock at night, having passed through the villages of Elbridge and Brutus. Owing to the numerous and teasing stops, we did not average more

than five miles an hour, though we often went over the ground at a greater rate.

The country during this day's journey, though not quite so recently settled as some we had seen before, presented nearly the same mixture of wide oceans of impervious looking forests, dotted over, here and there, with patches of cleared land under every stage of the agricultural process. Some of the fields were sown with wheat, above which could be seen numerous ugly stumps of old trees; others allowed to lie in grass, guarded, as it were, by a set of gigantic black monsters, the girdled, scorched, and withered remnants of the ancient woods. Many farms were still covered with a most inextricable and confused mass of prostrate trunks, branches of trees, piles of split logs, and of squared timbers, planks, shingles, great stacks of fuel; and often, in the midst of all this, could be detected, a half smothered log-hut without windows or furniture, but well stocked with people. At other places we came upon ploughs, always drawn by oxen, making their sturdy way amongst the stumps, like a ship navigating through coral reefs, a difficult and tiresome operation. Often, too, without much warning, we came in sight of busy villages, ornamented with tall white spires, topping above towers in which the taste of the villagers had placed green venetian blinds; and at the

summit of all, handsome gilt weather-cocks, glittering and crowing, as it seemed, in triumph over the poor forest.

"Driver!" I called out upon one occasion, "what is the name of this village?"

"Camillus, sir."

"And what is that great building?"

"That is the seminary—the polyteenic."

"And that great stone house?"

"Oh, that is the wool-factory."

In short, an Englishman might fancy himself in the vale of Stroud. But, mark the difference:—at the next crack of the whip—hocus pocus!—all is changed. He looks out of the window—rubs his eyes, and discovers that he is again in the depths of the wood at the other extremity of civilized society, with the world just beginning to bud, in the shape of a smoky log-hut, ten feet by twelve, filled with dirty-faced children, squatted round a hardy looking female, cooking victuals for a tired woodsman seated at his door, reading with suitable glee in the Democratical Journal of New York, an account of Mr Canning's campaign against the Ultra Tories of the old country.

After inspecting very carefully the penitentiary at Auburn, the parent experiment of that system which has done America so much honour, we pursued our course to the westward, and came, on

the 21st of June, to Cayuga lake, one of those numerous inland seas with which the northern part of the great State of New York abounds. This sheet of water is no less than forty miles long; but, to my shame I confess, I never heard its name till a week before I saw it. It is remarkable for a long bridge built across it, certainly the longest I ever saw. It took me fifteen minutes and twenty seconds, smart walking, to go from end to end, and measured 1850 paces. The toll-keeper at the eastern end informed me, that it was a mile and eight rods in length. The lake thereabouts is not deep, and the bridge, which is built of wood, stands on loose stone piers. I amused myself by making a sketch of it with the Camera Lucida, till the sun went down, and then, as the inn was comfortable, and the people obliging, we resolved to stay for the night.

We left Cayuga at eight in the morning, after a furious thunder shower had drenched every thing, and set all the roads afloat. But floundering amongst the mud was far preferable to gasping in the clouds of dust by which we had been pestered for several hot days before. The cold, indeed, was now so great, that we were fain to let down the leather curtains of the stage, and wrap ourselves in all the cloaks we could muster. Such is the changeable nature of an American climate.

We dined at Geneva, a town placed at the end of Seneca lake, so named after one of the extinct, or nearly extinct, tribes of Indians. The situation of the town has no doubt suggested its appellation; for it stands much in the correspondent position, relatively to the lake, with the city of Geneva in Switzerland.

As we drew onwards to the west, we observed a gradual acceleration in the speed at which the people swallowed their meals. After what we saw at New York, I had imagined this to be impossible; nor can any foreigner fully understand, till he has seen an American public table, how quickly a dinner may by possibility be got over. At the end of the first quarter of an hour we were almost always left alone, but, generally speaking, about half of the company were done much sooner. In the course of time we came to acquire these habits tolerably well, though we never got up with the chase completely. At Geneva, our movements were quickened by seeing that another party, consisting of the attendants, were waiting for us. In about ten or fifteen minutes afterwards, I had occasion to pass through the dining-room. The second set of eaters had also vanished by this time; but I observed a single person, seated at the end of the table, and dining quite alone. This seemed very odd; and, as he was a well-dressed and re-

spectable-looking man, my curiosity was roused to know who or what he could be. I therefore walked round in front of him, pretending to look for something, when lo! it was a negro!

By an act of the legislature of the state of New York, every remaining slave became free on the 4th of July, 1827. All trading in slaves had been long before abolished in this and many of the other states; but it will readily be understood how the fact of negro slavery still existing in the greater part of the Union, must have the effect of perpetuating the degradation of that unfortunate race over the whole country, and of rendering any assimilation, or cordial intercourse between the blacks and whites, quite impossible, even in those states where slavery does not exist.

The numbers of the free and the slave population of the United States are given in Watterston's tables, page 7, as follows:—

Whites and all other free persons, estimated to the 1st of Jan. 1828,	9,510,307
Slaves at the same date,	1,838,155
Total population,	11,348,462

which shows that the slaves form very nearly one-sixth part of the whole.*

* Tabular Statistical Views, by George Watterston and Nicholas Biddle Van Zandt. Published under the patronage of the Congress of the United States. Washington, Jan. 1829.

By the new constitution of the state of New York, adopted in the latter part of 1821, men of colour are allowed to vote at elections, "If they have been citizens of the state three years, and be seized and possessed of a freehold estate of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars, for one year preceding any such election." This certainly is a great step. The rule with respect to the whites, it may be well to mention also. "Every male citizen, who shall have been an inhabitant of the state one year preceding any election, and shall have performed certain duties, is entitled to vote in the town or ward where he actually resides, for all officers that are elective by the people."

Some time ago, a circumstance occurred in the legislature of New York, which excited a good deal of interest. Their daily proceedings are always commenced by prayer; and the different clergymen, without any distinction of sects, perform the office of chaplain in turn. Upon one occasion, however, it happened that a black preacher, a perfectly respectable man, gave in his name as wishing to officiate. A vehement debate, I am informed, took place upon this point; but, after several days' discussion, and before any vote was taken, the black minister withdrew his application, and the question therefore remains undecided. The fact is, the public feeling in America is not ripe

for such a glaring innovation. What should we think in England, were we to see a black woolly head start up in the pulpit of St George's, Hanover Square? There is nothing like bringing these questions home.

Since leaving the city of New York, we had seen no bells in any of the public houses; and persons who have been used to such luxuries all their lives, can hardly understand, till they try, the amount of annoyance which these and many other minor wants are capable of producing. For instance, it might seem a very petty discomfort, to be obliged to use a two-pronged fork, instead of one with three prongs; and so, perhaps, it might prove, provided a stranger could reconcile it to himself to eat with his knife. But as this ugly, not to say dangerous practice, is followed in England only by the lowest vulgar, it comes very awkwardly to a traveller's notice at first, however recommended by universal custom in America. Between reluctance to do what he has been taught to consider ill-bred, and the desire to please by conformity, and the impossibility of fishing up peas, for example, or rice, with the forks exclusively used in that country, many good things are apt to slip away from him.

But I was speaking of the want of bells. It is in vain that you thump the floor; or rap the plate

with your knife, as in Italy. In that rich climate the doors stand wide open. In America, they are generally shut; or if you open them, and put your head into the passage, you may call and bawl for ever without effect. It seems the servants themselves, or the helps, or hirelings, or whatever name they think it least degrading to go by, do not like being summoned by a ringing of bells. Accordingly, there was often no method left, but to do the things required for ourselves. One day I was rather late for breakfast, and as there was no water in my jug, or pitcher, as they call it, I set off, post haste, half-shaved, half-dressed, and more than half-vexed, in quest of water; like a seaman on short allowance, hunting for rivulets on some unknown coast. I went up stairs and down stairs, and in the course of my researches into half-a-dozen different apartments, might have stumbled on some lady's chamber, as the song says, which, considering the plight I was in, would have been awkward enough.

Our next halt was at the end of an extremely pretty lake, not quite so large as the two last we had visited, but still an extensive piece of water. This lake, and the village which stands at the northern extremity, are called Canandaigua. I may remark, that the term village conveys a different idea to us from what it does to an Ameri-

can. The word town would seem more appropriate, as these villages are not composed of cottages clustered together; but of fine houses, divided by wide streets, and embellished by groves of trees and flower gardens. At certain corners of all these villages, or towns, blacksmiths, coopers, and other artisans, are of course to be found; but generally speaking, the houses at Canandaigua, for instance, have more the appearance of separate country houses, than of mere component parts of a village. In the centre there is always left an open space or market-place, with showy hotels on one side; the court-house on the other; and perhaps a church and a meeting-house, to complete the square.

Canandaigua lies nearly in the centre of Ontario county, a large tract of which was purchased many years ago, I believe in 1790, by some English gentlemen, who paid about five cents an acre for it, or about two-pence halfpenny. Great part of it has since been sold at prices varying from one and two dollars, to ten, and even twenty dollars.

A district of country, intended for the market, is first surveyed, and laid out into square portions, a mile each way. At the corner of each of these square miles a stake is driven in, with a proper number or letter carved upon it; and the trees between this post and the next, which is always fix-

ed due north or south, or due east or west of it, are marked by means of what are called blazes. This operation consists in shaving off a slice about twice as large as a man's hand, with an axe, at about seven or eight feet from the ground. In this way, when a set of lines, running in the direction of the meridian, are intersected by another set stretching east and west, the unoccupied country is covered with a net-work of divisions a mile square, each containing 640 acres.

A settler who has a fancy to take up his quarters in a district so marked out, dives into the forest, and roves about till he lights upon a spot to his mind. He next sets about finding what are the marks upon the stakes nearest to him, and by reference to these, the land-agent, who has maps before him, can at once lay his hand upon the very spot. A second reference, to the surveyor's report, also in the land-office, determines the nature of the soil, the quality of the timber growing upon it, its distance from a navigable river, or from a road, and what is the nearest town; in short, all the circumstances upon which depend its value in the market. A bargain is now made between the agent and the new comer. A tenth part, or some other proportion of the purchase-money, according to circumstances, is required to be paid down at once, and the rest, it is stipulated, shall follow by

instalments. If the settler, fortunately, have ready money enough to pay for the whole at the moment, he gets his title-deeds immediately; if not, he must wait till the instalments are paid up. It is important to observe, that no such instrument is binding, unless it be previously registered in a public office, expressly formed for this purpose, and nearly resembling, as far as I know, the system of registration in Scotland. All mortgages, or other liens upon real property, may be thus at once ascertained.

The settler then proceeds to his lot, which may be the whole or any portion of the square mile that he and the land-agent can agree about. There he chops down the trees, burns some of them, makes his house of others, and splits the remainder into poles for his fences; and by bringing his land into cultivation, he is enabled to pay up his purchase money from time to time. If, instead of being industrious, he be idle or dissipated, or get tired of his bargain, he walks off without ceremony, and without scruple; because he leaves the property better than he found it. It does not much signify in this respect whether he have done much or little to it; since every turn of work upon it for the first few years, can have no other effect than raising its value, by getting rid of the woods.

From all I could learn, there appears to be a

singular degree of pleasurable excitement attending this process of clearing waste lands; for it is apparently not so much the end, as the means, which afford this gratification. A settler, especially from the New England states, often begins the world in that country with no other fortune than a stout heart and a good axe. With these he has no fears, and sets merrily forward in his attack upon the wilderness. In the course of the first year he raises a little Indian corn, and other things, which keep him alive and enable him to supply various wants. Next season he makes a fresh start with improved means, and a few less discomforts, but always with a confident spirit. By and by, he marries, raises a family, buys more cows, pigs, and horses, and so on, little by little, carving out his fortune by dint of hard labour. In time his sons grow up, and help him to take in fresh and richer land; when he can afford to do that, he sells what he had formerly cleared; and thus goes on chopping and clearing, and bringing up a troop of broad-shouldered sons, strapping fellows, whom he sends out, or rather who send themselves out, from time to time, to the westward, to subvert other forests, and run the same round their hard-working father has run before them.

This passion for turning up new soils, and clearing the wilderness, heretofore untouched by the

hand of man, is said to increase with years. Under such constant changes of place, there can be very little individual regard felt or professed for particular spots. I might almost say, that as far as I could see or learn, there is nothing in any part of America similar to what we call local attachments. There is a strong love of country, it is true; but this is quite a different affair, as it seems to be entirely unconnected with any permanent fondness for one spot more than another.

A large and handsome farm-house, near Canandaigua, was pointed out to me one day, the owner of which had come to that part of the country between twenty and thirty years before, at which period it was pretty nearly an unbroken forest. He commenced with very slender means; but persevered in clearing away the woods, and ploughing up the ground, till he came at last to accumulate a considerable fortune. He then built a large brick house, married, brought up sons and daughters, and having retained his health and spirits entire to the age of sixty, had the prospect of a quiet, hearty, green old age before him.

Nothing, however, was farther from his thoughts, or more repugnant to his habits, than quiet. He missed the ardent excitement of his past life, and sighed to be once again in the heart of the thicket. Instead of finding agreeable companionship in the

population which was crowding round about him, he considered each fresh settler as an intruder on his freedom of action; a sort of spy on his proceedings. At length, after struggling for a while with the privations and inconveniences of civilisation, he declared he could stand it no longer. So he made over his farm to his children, and carrying with him only his axe and his wife, a few dollars, a team of oxen, and a waggon and horses, set off for the territory of Michigan, the Lord knows how far off in the North-West. There he is now chopping down wood, and labouring in a sort of wild happiness from morning till night, to bring new lands into cultivation; which, in the course of time, if he live, he will dispose of to newer settlers, and again decamp to the westward.

After breakfast on the 23d of June, we set out from Canandaigua to examine a burning spring at a place called Bristol. On reaching the spot, we discovered a spring to be sure, but could see no flames. A boy, however, was dispatched for a lantern and candle, and the light held over a great many places. Still no fire was visible, though the offensive smell of carburetted hydrogen could not be mistaken. I was beginning to feel that awkward sort of distrust which accompanies the suspicion of being quizzed, and sent on what is called a fool's errand; when behold! the air caught fire,

and in a few minutes, we had a row of natural gas lights blazing in a style worthy of Pall-Mall, for many yards along the banks of a pretty little valley; in the middle of which a clear stream of water was leaping merrily down to the plains below, over a series of steps, or slabs, formed by the horizontal strata of limestone covering all that part of the country.

On Sunday we attended the afternoon service in the Episcopalian church. In America, the clergymen are chosen by their congregations, and may be dismissed at pleasure; a practice which has some good, and some bad effects. But it is not of church discipline I mean to speak just now. The gentleman who preached on the day in question, was in the unpleasant predicament just alluded to. After three years' service his parishioners, it seems, became tired of him, and though no cause was assigned, as far as I could learn, the congregation intimated to him that they had no further occasion for his services. On this day, accordingly, he was to preach his farewell sermon. Much interest was naturally excited to know in what temper he would make his adieu. It was the opinion of many persons whom I heard speaking of the circumstance, that he had been rather hardly dealt with, since he had zealously and faithfully performed all the duties of his station. No one seemed to know in

the least what line he was about to take; for he had the unusual good sense to keep his own counsel. His opponents, if they had really no charge against their pastor, may have been a little uneasy; and his friends, I could easily discover, were very anxious. I happened to be living amongst his well-wishers, and naturally floated along with the tide which bore me, and became quite a party man—no very uncommon case—without knowing any thing of the matter.

The text, which was pithy and rather angry, gave us some alarm, and we expected to hear the rattling of a severe storm over our heads. The judicious preacher, however, disappointed his enemies, and gratified his friends; for while there was just enough in the text to show that he felt the severity of his sentence, the discourse itself breathed nothing but the truest Christian charity. By not even mentioning the word forgiveness, he studiously avoided showing that he was conscious of being injured; thus leaving any reproachful inferences to be drawn in secret by those who knew the truth, whatever that might be. It struck me that his congregation, on the mere strength of his having taste and discretion enough, and I may add humility, not to set up a whining justification when no specific charge was made, ought to have voted him into the pulpit again.

His salary had been 500 dollars, or about 100 guineas a-year, and upon this fortune he had of course married. He was now left, however, without one dollar of income, and without a church. In any other country such a contingency in a man's affairs would be disastrous indeed; but in America, where the field is comparatively unoccupied, a man of his stamp is quite sure, I was told, to get employment again, almost immediately, in some line or other.

It was not till long afterwards that I had the means of studying the history of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in America, though well worthy of attention. In the meantime, we had abundant ocular demonstration of the respect paid to the subject of religion; for scarcely a single village, however small, was without a church. It was hinted to me, indeed, slily, that these churches were built as money speculations, and were not erected by the villagers themselves. But this, supposing it to be true, confirms, I think, instead of weakening, the position; for it is obvious that the speculators in church-seats must reckon upon a congregation; and if there was not a steady religious sentiment prevalent amongst the population, these adventurers would be sure to lose their money.—Take it either way, it is clear that good must be the result.

The wider, and far more important question, respecting the general effect on the mass of the nation, in consequence of there being no established church in America, is a topic which, for many reasons, it would be injudicious to handle at this stage of the journey; but as there is no other subject comparable to it in importance, I shall certainly not pass it by.

We spent three most agreeable days at Canandaigua, where we were fortunate in finding ourselves lodged under the roof of a countryman of our own, who, though a naturalized citizen of America, and true to all his duties as such, keeps a portion of his affections in reserve for other countries. He has introduced into his pretty village many of the usages and tastes of an older country; an example which has been followed in some instances, and is calculated to do much good. At all events, I can answer for the luxuries alluded to being very delightful to travellers who, like ourselves, had not yet learnt to exchange, without a sigh, the refinements to which we had been accustomed, for the inevitable discomforts of a state of society circumstanced so differently.

On the 25th of June we drove across the country to the village of Rochester, which is built on the banks of the Genesee river, just above some beautiful waterfalls, and only a few miles from the

southern shore of Lake Ontario, which, I was sorry to find, was not visible from thence, owing to the dense skreen of untouched forest which intervenes. The Erie canal passes through the heart of this singular village, and strides across the Genesee river on a noble aqueduct of stone.

Rochester is celebrated all over the Union as presenting one of the most striking instances of rapid increase in size and population of which that country affords any example.

It may be proper to remark, that about this period I began to learn that in America the word improvement, which, in England, means making things better, signifies, in that country, an augmentation in the number of houses and people, and, above all, in the amount of the acres of cleared land. It is laid down by the Americans as an admitted maxim, to doubt the solidity of which never enters any man's head for an instant, that a rapid increase of population is, to all intents and purposes, tantamount to an increase of national greatness and power, as well as an increase of individual happiness and prosperity. Consequently, say they, such increase ought to be forwarded by every possible means, as the greatest blessing to the country.

I do not assert that the Americans are entirely wrong in this matter; far from it; increase of po-

pulation is sometimes a symptom of prosperity. But it may or may not prove so, according to circumstances; and, at all events, the mere increase of numbers, in whatever ratio, is not by any means an infallible measure of a country's growing power; —still less of its happiness and virtue, which spring, as I conceive, from sources entirely different from this cause, and are maintained by means very dissimilar.

It is interesting, I grant, to behold millions of human beings starting into life in the wilderness. But I have lived in more countries than one, in the course of my travels, where this rapid production of the human species was undoubtedly the proximate source of dreadful evils to the state. The manufactory of people, like all manufactories, may be overdone, and the market glutted. The Americans do not deny this principle in the abstract, but they say the time is very remote when it will apply to their country. Perhaps they are right. All I would contend for at this moment is, that, even in that country, it is by no means universally and necessarily true, that an increase of population brings with it, of itself, an increase of national greatness.

Much of the wealth, and power, and happiness of nations have their origin, and still more their permanent support, in circumstances of which little

or no account is taken in America; or, if noticed at all, only to be scoffed at. My present purpose, however, is not to enter deeply into these speculations, but to describe what I actually saw. There may come a time for these discussions likewise; but in the meanwhile, I am merely anxious to prevent its being supposed that I agree to the unphilosophical position alluded to, however orthodox it may be held in America, or elsewhere.

The following table shows the annual increase of population in Rochester since 1815, the first year in which a census was taken:—

	Population.		Population.
December 1815,	331	February 1825,	4274
September 1818,	1019	August 1825,	5273
August 1820,	1502	December 1826,	7669
September 1822,	2700		

And it had reached considerably more than 8000, when we were there in the middle of 1827.

It may not be uninteresting, perhaps, to give another table, showing the number of persons engaged in some of the principal occupations in the year 1826:—

7 Clergymen	184 Shoemakers	17 Coach-makers
25 Physicians	20 Hatters	67 Blacksmiths
28 Lawyers	73 Coopers	14 Gun-smiths
74 Merchants	23 Clothiers	10 Chair-makers
89 Clerks	20 Millers	95 Masons
84 Grocers	21 Mill-wrights	25 Cabinet-makers
33 Butchers	304 Carpenters	5 Comb-makers
48 Tailors	29 Tanners	26 Painters
24 Wheel-wrights	23 Tinners	16 Innkeepers
21 Saddlers	(Qy. Tinsmiths)	16 Goldsmiths
8 Tallow-chandlers	14 Bakers	31 Printers
423 Labourers		

4 Political and one Religious Newspaper.
1 Christian Monthly Magazine.

I have copied this table from a work called "The Directory for the Village of Rochester, for the 1st of January, 1827." I see in it no mention made of milliners, though I am sure we observed at least a dozen shops of that description, besides many others not mentioned in the above list.

The ladies in America obtain their fashions direct from Paris. I speak now of the great cities on the sea-coast, where the communication with Europe is easy and frequent. In the back settlements, people are obliged to catch what opportunities come in their way; and accordingly, many applications were made to us for a sight of our wardrobe, which, it may be supposed, was none of the largest. The child's clothes excited most interest, however, and patterns were asked for on many occasions.

While touching on this subject, I hope I may be permitted to say a few words, without giving offence—certainly without meaning to give any—respecting the attire of the male part of the population, who, I have reason to think, do not, generally speaking, consider dress an object deserving of nearly so much attention as it undoubtedly ought to receive. It seems to me that dress is a branch, and not an unimportant branch, of manners,—a science they all profess themselves anxious to study. The men, probably without their being

aware of it, have, somehow or other, acquired a habit of negligence in this respect quite obvious to the eye of a stranger. From the hat, which is never brushed, to the shoe, which is seldom polished, all parts of their dress are often left pretty much to take care of themselves. Nothing seems to fit, or to be made with any precision.

It is very true, they are quite at liberty to adopt that form of dress, as well as that form of government, which pleases them best; but, on the other hand, I hope it will be granted that both the one and the other, contradistinguished as they are so much from what is seen elsewhere, are perfectly fair points of remark for a foreigner.

The chief source of the commercial and agricultural prosperity of Rochester is the Erie canal, as that village is made the emporium of the rich agricultural districts bordering on the Genesee river; and its capitalists both send out and import a vast quantity of wheat, flour, beef and pork, pot and pearl ashes, whisky, and so on. In return for these articles, Rochester supplies the adjacent country with all kinds of manufactured goods, which are carried up by the canal from New York. In proportion as the soil is brought into cultivation, or subdued, to use the local phrase, the consumers will become more numerous, and their means more extensive. Thus the demands of the

surrounding country must go on augmenting rapidly, and along with them, both the imports and exports of every kind will increase in proportion. There were in 1826 no less than 160 canal boats, drawn by 882 horses, owned by persons actually residing in the village, besides numberless others belonging to non-residents.

Out of more than 8000 souls in this gigantic young village, there was not to be found in 1827 a single grown-up person born there, the oldest native not being then seventeen years of age. The population is composed principally of emigrants from New England, that is, from the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Some settlers are to be found from other parts of the Union; and these, together with a considerable number from Germany, England, Ireland, and Scotland, and a few natives of Canada, Norway, and Switzerland, make up a very singular society.

Much of all this prosperity may be traced to the cheapness of conveyance on the Erie Canal. The charge of transport for a barrel of flour, which weighs 196 pounds, from Rochester to the Hudson River, a distance of 268 miles, in the spring and autumn, or, as it is termed, the Fall, is one dollar, or about 4s. 3d. In summer it is only three-quarters of a dollar, or about 3s. 2d. Passengers

are carried in freight boats for $1\frac{1}{2}$ cent, or about three farthings a-mile, exclusive of board, and travel about 60 miles in 24 hours. In the canal packets the fare, including all expenses, is generally four cents, or about twopence per mile. The boats run day and night, and accomplish about 80 miles in 24 hours. The cost for travelling by land in the stages, exclusive of board, is three cents and a half per mile, or about a penny and three farthings.

CHAPTER V.

On the 26th of June 1827, we strolled through the village of Rochester, under the guidance of a most obliging and intelligent friend, a native of this part of the country. Every thing in this bustling place appeared to be in motion. The very streets seemed to be starting up of their own accord, ready-made, and looking as fresh and new, as if they had been turned out of the workmen's hands but an hour before—or that a great boxful of new houses had been sent by steam from New York, and tumbled out on the half-cleared land. The canal banks were at some places still unturfed; the lime seemed hardly dry in the masonry of the aqueduct, in the bridges, and in the numberless great saw-mills and manufactories. In many of these buildings the people were at work below stairs, while at top the carpenters were busy nailing on the planks of the roof.

Some dwellings were half painted, while the foundations of others, within five yards' distance, were only beginning. I cannot say how many churches, court-houses, jails, and hotels I counted, all in motion, creeping upwards. Several streets were nearly finished, but had not as yet received their names; and many others were in the reverse predicament, being named, but not commenced,—their local habitation being merely signified by lines of stakes. Here and there we saw great warehouses, without window sashes, but half filled with goods, and furnished with hoisting cranes, ready to fish up the huge pyramids of flour barrels, bales, and boxes lying in the streets. In the centre of the town the spire of a Presbyterian church rose to a great height, and on each side of the supporting tower was to be seen the dial-plate of a clock, of which the machinery, in the hurry-skurry, had been left at New York. I need not say that these half-finished, whole-finished, and embryo streets were crowded with people, carts, stages, cattle, pigs, far beyond the reach of numbers;—and as all these were lifting up their voices together, in keeping with the clatter of hammers, the ringing of axes, and the creaking of machinery, there was a fine concert, I assure you!

But it struck us that the interest of the town, for it seems idle to call it a village, was subordi-

nate to that of the suburbs. A few years ago the whole of that part of the country was covered with a dark silent forest, and even as it was, we could not proceed a mile in any direction except that of the high-road, without coming full-butt against the woods of time immemorial. When land is cleared for the purposes of cultivation, the stumps are left standing for many years, from its being easier, as well as more profitable in other respects, to plough round them, than to waste time and labour in rooting them out, or burning them, or blowing them up with gunpowder. But when a forest is levelled with a view to building a town in its place, a different system must of course be adopted. The trees must then be removed sooner or later, according to the means of the proprietor, or the necessities of the case. Thus one man possessed of capital will clear his lot of the wood, and erect houses, or even streets, across it; while on his neighbour's land the trees may be still growing. And it actually occurred to us, several times, within the immediate limits of the inhabited town itself, in streets, too, where shops were opened, and all sorts of business actually going on, that we had to drive first on one side, and then on the other, to avoid the stumps of an oak, or a hemlock, or a pine-tree, staring us full in the face.

On driving a little beyond the streets towards

the woods, we came to a space, about an acre in size, roughly enclosed, on the summit of a gentle swell in the ground.

"What can this place be for?"

"Oh," said my companion, "that is the grave yard."

"Grave yard—what is that?" said I; for I was quite adrift.

"Why, surely," said he, "you know what a grave yard is? It is a burying ground. All the inhabitants of the place are buried there, whatever be their persuasion. We don't use churchyards in America."

After we had gone about a mile from town the forest thickened, we lost sight of every trace of a human dwelling, or of human interference with nature in any shape. We stood considering what we should do next, when the loud crash of a falling tree met our ears. Our friendly guide was showing off the curiosities of the place, and was quite glad, he said, to have this opportunity of exhibiting the very first step in the process of town-making. After a zig-zag scramble amongst trees, which had been allowed to grow up and decay century after century, we came to a spot where three or four men were employed in clearing out a street, as they declared, though any thing more unlike a street could not well be conceived. Ne-

vertheless, the ground in question certainly formed part of the plan of the town. It had been chalked out by the surveyors' stakes, and some speculators having taken up the lots for immediate building, of course found it necessary to open a street through the woods, to afford a line of communication with the rest of the village. As fast as the trees were cut down, they were stripped of their branches and drawn off by oxen, sawed into planks, or otherwise fashioned to the purposes of building, without one moment's delay. There was little or no exaggeration, therefore, in supposing with our friend, that the same fir which might be waving about in full life and vigour in the morning, should be cut down, dragged into daylight, squared, framed, and before night, be hoisted up to make a beam or rafter to some tavern, or factory, or store, at the corner of a street, which twenty-four hours before had existed only on paper, and yet which might be completed, from end to end, within a week afterwards.

On our way back again to the carriage, which had been left standing in the avenue, or nick cut for the road in the forest, we fell in with a gentleman on horseback, rifle in hand, and bearing, in testimony of his successful sport, a large bunch of wild pigeons and sleek-skinned black squirrels, tied to his saddle-bow. He had been gunning, he told

us, for a couple of hours; in the course of which time, he had first lost his horse, and in looking for it, had missed his marks, and so of course lost himself. "And now," continued the sportsman, "that I am fairly out of the thicket, I am almost as much at a loss as I was before. For," continued he, jestingly to our companion, "you have been getting up such a heap of new work here, a man does not know the land from day to day. You have placed such a lot of taverns and houses on the skirts of the forest; so many lime-kilns, grocery stores, and what not, side by side, or jumbled altogether, amongst the trees, that, for the life of me, I don't know scarcely where I have got to, more than I did a while ago when straying amongst the trees after my horse."

After our new acquaintance had rode on, I asked who he was. My friend desired me to guess. I thought it might be the baker? the butcher? the attorney? the bookseller? "No! no! none of these." The mason? said I, or some such indispensable personage? "No—you are still wrong." Had I guessed all night, I never should have thought of naming the dancing master! but so it was. After laughing a little, I don't know well why, I acknowledged myself well pleased to have witnessed so undeniable a symptom of refinement peeping out amongst the rugged manners of the

forest. I spoke this not disrespectfully—quite the contrary. At first sight, indeed, it would seem, that where people are so intensely busy, their habits must almost necessarily, according to all analogy, partake in some degree of the unpolished nature of their occupations, and, consequently, they must be more or less insensible to the value of such refinements. I was therefore glad to see so good a proof, as far as it went, of my being in error.

There is a pang, however, it must be honestly confessed, which sometimes accompanies the wrenching out of an established opinion, which goes, at the moment, to the very soul of a disputant; but if the operation be adroitly performed, it is followed by more than a correspondent relief. A good riddance is made of what was not only useless, but worse than useless—positively injurious—by preventing the due operation of sounder and better thoughts in the neighbourhood.

In travelling—to be a little less enigmatical—it is not always easy to find operators of adequate skill; and we are apt to be as much injured by interested and dishonest quacks, as relieved of our prejudices by men of talents, knowledge, fairness, and good sense—a rare combination! so that, unless the observer's mental constitution be good, he will be very liable to choose those remedies which only tend to palliate the disorder. For my part,

I acknowledge fairly, that after some experience in the embarrassing science of travelling, I have often been so much out of humour with the people amongst whom I was wandering, that I have most perversely derived pleasure from meeting things to find fault with; and very often, I am ashamed to say, when asking for information, have detected that my wish was rather to prove my original and prejudiced conceptions right, than to discover that I had previously done the people injustice. The melancholy truth is, that when once we express any opinions, especially if we use strong terms for that purpose, a sort of parental fondness springs up for the offspring of our lips, and we are ready to defend them for no better reason than because we gave them birth. Travellers, therefore, and others, should be cautious how they bring such a fine family of opinions into the world, which they can neither maintain respectably, nor get rid of without a certain degree of inconsistency, generally painful, and sometimes ridiculous.

On the 27th of June we left Rochester, and travelled about 30 miles on what is called the Ridge Road, which runs along the summit of a gently sloping bank of sand and gravel, supposed to have formed, in some remote era of the globe, the beach of Lake Ontario, to the southern margin of which it is very nearly parallel, though a hundred feet

higher in level, and at present distant from it eight or ten miles. This ridge forms the southern termination to a flat, or very moderately inclined belt of country, once probably the bottom of the lake, above the general level of which flat district this old beach rises to the height of 15 or 20 feet. The slope of the south side of the ridge is much steeper than that of the north which faces the lake. In this respect it resembles very much the natural embankments which I have seen in many different sea-coasts and shores of lakes, where the combined action of the wind and water had formed elevations along the beach, with a back-water, as it is called, lying behind them. This takes place on the shores of Malabar, on the western side of the peninsula of India; and I saw something like it on the western shores of Lake Ontario; the result of causes now in actual operation.

There are two points to be attended to in all such enquiries; one is, to establish, on reasonable grounds, that the phenomenon we see before us has been formed in the way we suppose; and the other is, to account for what has happened since. I have scarcely the shadow of a doubt, nor can I conceive how any person acquainted with such things can have any doubt, about the ridge in question having been at one time the beach of Lake Ontario, when it stood at a higher level than it

now does. But the step which the imagination has to make from this conviction, across the intermediate period, down to the present day, is gigantic indeed.

Such evidences of the changes which the surface of the earth has undergone, are well calculated not only to fill us with admiration, but, by carrying us back, irresistibly, to those remote ages, which it makes the mind giddy to look into, to rouse our curiosity to the highest pitch, and at once to gratify and to disappoint us. The poetical creations of fancy, on the other hand, however skilfully combined, are nothing but dreams; and although they often excite us in a very powerful manner, they must always produce effects of a character totally distinct from those left by a contemplation of such tangible, actually existing examples of the workings of time, and of those powers to which we see no limit. To commonplace, everyday experience, this ridge road, viewed without reference to its geological history, offers nothing to the observation of a traveller more than a better carriage way than he has seen for some days past. But when his imagination, conducted by legitimate reasoning, is brought to bear upon it, a glorious chain of events in the revolution of the Earth's surface is made apparent. The order and degree of all the circumstances are placed so palpably

before him, that he can almost fancy himself standing on the banks of the lake in its ancient state, ready to witness the disruption of that immense barrier of which all traces are now gone, but which, at one period, must have confined the water at a level sufficiently high to submerge a great part of the surrounding continent.

The sun had set before we reached the village of Ridgeway, close to Oak Orchard Creek, and the twilight overtook me before I had rigged up the Camera Lucida, to make a sketch of a very wild-looking, cleared space of ground. While I was poring over the paper, and straining my eyes to make the most of the ebbing light, I heard a knot of the villagers discussing a question of law, or rather of police. The point at issue was the propriety of arresting a person who had bailed another man. The principal, that is to say the debtor, had been within the creditor's reach; but as he—the debtor—was known to be insolvent, he was allowed to escape; after which the bondsman was laid hold of, and from him, a man of substance, the money was recovered. There was more law in the discussion than I could follow;—and I suppose it was my ignorance which made me wonder that two opinions could be held on such a point.

At a pause in the argument, one of the party got up and said, "I think as there is a strange lady

and gentleman here sitting amongst us, we should be entertaining them much better by giving them a song, than by discussing a long story about the practice of the law.—What say you, Mr Bottum?"

The person he addressed, caught eagerly at the opportunity of enacting any part that was in request, and without the customary airs and graces of singers, immediately struck up, "as 'twere any nightingale," what might be called a psalm-tune in a minor key, and gave us an amusing song of his own composition. I regret that I have not room for the whole production, as it is full of local allusions which might somewhat help on my own story. The last stanza ran as follows:—

> "Tom Bottum of Oak Orchard has pointed out the way,
> To dress yourselves in splendour, the richest and the gay;
> You may dress in silks and satins without the least of fear,
> For he'll keep a-making silk yet these hundreds of years."

The author, it thus appeared, was not only a manufacturer of verses, but a manufacturer of silk, and something also of an agriculturist; for, with the characteristic activity of his country, he had himself introduced the mulberry tree and the silk-worm; and having instructed his family in the art of rearing them, speedily set the whole village a-winding and weaving. Our merry friend's poetry, therefore, carried with it, besides its other recommendations, the novelty of historical truth to grace its inspiration.

It so rarely happens that one meets with such universal geniuses—except in a play—that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of giving one more graphic stanza of this worthy handicraftsman's song, before bidding him good-by.

"Here's sport for the hunt-man, his dog, and his gun,
Start a deer on the Ridge, to Ontario he'll run,
Whilst the farmer with his butcher's knife is bringing up the rear;—
So there's sport for the huntsman these hundreds of years."

On the 28th of June, we proceeded to Lockport, a straggling, busy, wooden village, with the Erie canal cutting it in two, and hundreds of pigs, stage-coaches and waggons, occupying the crowded streets; while a curious mixture of listlessness and bustle characterized the appearance of the inhabitants.

Lockport is celebrated over the United States as the site of a double set of canal locks, admirably executed, side by side, five in each, one for boats going up, the other for those coming down the canal. The original level of the rocky table-land about Lockport is somewhat, though not much, higher than the surface of lake Erie, from which it is distant, by the line of the canal, about thirty miles. In order to obtain the advantage of having such an inexhaustible reservoir as Lake Erie for a feeder to the canal, it became necessary to cut down the top of the ridge on which Lockport stands, to

bring the canal level somewhat below that of the lake. For this purpose, a magnificent excavation, called the Deep Cutting, several miles in length, with an average depth of twenty-five feet, was made through a compact, horizontal limestone stratum—a work of great expense and labour, and highly creditable to all parties concerned.

The Erie canal is 363 miles in length, 40 feet wide at the surface, 28 at bottom, and four feet deep. There are 83 locks of masonry, each 90 feet long by 15 wide. The elevation of Lake Erie above the Hudson at Albany, is about 555 feet; but the lockage up and down on the whole voyage is 662 feet.

This great work, which was commenced on the 4th of July 1817, was completed in eight years and four months, and cost about nine millions and a half of dollars, or somewhat more than two millions sterling. A considerable sum has been since expended annually in repairing occasional breaches, and in rendering various parts more substantial than was thought necessary at first. These expenses were always calculated upon; but it was considered an object of primary importance in every point of view, to open the canal, from end to end, and bring it into actual use, as soon as possible; even though some parts of it might not have been completed with the utmost degree of perfection.

The result showed the wisdom of this proceeding, as the receipts from the tolls have greatly exceeded the anticipated amount; and accordingly have furnished the canal commissioners with adequate means for bringing the whole into the proper condition. Property of every kind has risen in value, as might have been expected, in all those parts of the country through which the canal passes, and a vast increase, both of exports and imports, has taken place in those sections of the state which lie between the Hudson and the lakes, all tending to increase the wealth and importance of the State of New York.

But the example of this successful experiment has, I suspect, done some mischief in the rest of the American States; for it has set a-going a multitude of projects, many of which, I am convinced, can never answer any good purpose, except to such speculators as may have sold their original shares at a premium, and then backed out of the scrape, pretty much as many of the joint stock company jobbers did in England in 1825. It would be invidious, and perhaps rather tiresome, to describe the numerous abortive schemes for canals and railroads which the success of this great work has set on foot, particularly as opportunities of touching upon them will occur as we go on.

In the state of Ohio, however, which lies to the

south-westward of the State of New York, and has Lake Erie for its northern boundary, great, and I think well-bestowed efforts, have been made by the inhabitants, to take advantage of their peculiar situation, and to co-operate with, rather than to rival, their sister state. By means of canals stretching from the very centre of that fertile region, they can now send their produce to Lake Erie; from whence it may enter the grand canal at Buffalo, and so find its way to Lockport, Rochester, and Albany; and from thence its course to the sea at New York down the Hudson, is an affair of a few hours. On the other hand, if the southern market is deemed preferable by the inhabitants of the state alluded to, they may send their produce by canals into the river Ohio, which joins the Mississippi, and thus it will float swiftly down to New Orleans. The voyage, indeed, looks long on the map; but it is speedily accomplished, even without steam, as we had opportunities of seeing towards the end of our journey.

I have alluded just now only to exports of home produce; but the same facilities, or nearly the same, are afforded for the importation of goods by the channels that serve as funnels to pour out the native riches of the interior on the rest of the world.

There is yet another and very important channel through which the State alluded to—Ohio—

as well as the other countries bordering on any of the upper lakes, may probably find it for their advantage to send off their exports, and to receive back their imports. I mean the Welland Canal, cut across the Isthmus of Niagara in Upper Canada, which, by uniting Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, affords a communication between the western lakes and the sea, either through the river St Lawrence, or by the Oswego Canal to Syracuse, and thence by the Grand Canal to the port of New York.

CHAPTER VI.

On the 29th of June 1827, we went from Lockport to the Falls of Niagara, which infinitely exceeded our anticipations. I think it right to begin with this explicit statement, because I do not remember in any instance in America, or in England, when this subject was broached, that the first question has not been, "Did the Falls answer your expectations?"

The best answer on this subject I remember to have heard of, was made by a gentleman who had just been at Niagara, and on his return was appealed to by a party he met on the way going to the Falls, who naturally asked him if he thought they would be disappointed. "Why, no," said he; "not unless you expect to witness the sea coming down from the moon!"

On our way to the Falls we had one view, and that merely a glimpse, of Lake Ontario, through a wide opening in the trees, on the top of a rising

ground. That enormous sheet of water, which is one hundred and seventy miles long, had none of those appearances of a lake, familiar as such to our eyes. I was prepared to expect something like the sea, but was surprised, though I don't know very well why, by discovering it to be so precisely similar to the ocean. It had the same deep blue tint, and possessed all the appearance of boundless extent. Between the spot where we stood, and the south-western margin of the lake, there lay a belt of flat country, eight or ten miles in width, matted thickly with the untouched forest, and nearly as striking as the grand lake itself. This wooded ground was quite smooth, nearly horizontal, and had probably in ancient times formed the bottom of the lake, when the ridge before spoken of was the beach. In casting the eye over this vast extent of forest, not the slightest inequality of surface could be distinguished. The foliage, indeed, appeared to cling to the ground like a rich, mottled sort of dress, or carpet.

The river Niagara which flows from Lake Erie into Lake Ontario, is unlike any other river that I know of. It is a full-grown stream at the first moment of its existence, and is no larger at its mouth than at its source. Its whole length is about thirty-two miles, one-half of which is above the Falls, and the other half lies between them and

Lake Ontario. During the first part of its course, or that above the tremendous scene alluded to, this celebrated river slips quietly along out of Lake Erie, nearly at the level of the surrounding flat country. So nearly so, indeed, that if by any of those chances which swell other rivers, but have no effect here, we could suppose the Niagara to rise perpendicularly eight or ten feet, the adjacent portion of Upper Canada on the west, and of the State of New York on the east, would be laid under water.

After the river passes over the Falls, however, its character is immediately and completely changed. It then runs furiously along the bottom of a deep, wall-sided valley, or huge trench, which seems to have been cut into the horizontal strata of the limestone rock by the continued action of the stream during the lapse of ages. The cliffs on both sides are at most places nearly perpendicular, without any interval being left between the cliffs and the river, or any rounding of the edges at the top; and a rent would seem a more appropriate term than a valley. Above the Falls, therefore, that is, between them and Lake Erie, it will be understood, there is literally no valley at all; as the river flows with a gentle current, and almost flush, as seamen call it, or level with the banks;—while below the cataract, the bed of the

river lies so deep in the earth, that a stranger, unprepared for these peculiarities, is not aware of there being any break at all in the ground, till he comes within a few yards of the very edge of the precipice. In point of fact we did drive for some distance on the American side of the valley or ravine of Niagara, across which we were looking, all the while, at the scenery in Canada, without knowing it, and without being in the least degree conscious that such a strong natural line of demarcation was interposed between us and that province.

But the river at the place where we first saw it, four miles north of the Falls, instead of slipping along quietly, finds its way with great impetuosity towards Lake Ontario, over a steep rocky bed, so as to form one of the most formidable of those well-known torrents called Rapids; this particular one being called, par excellence, the Devil's Hole.

The first glimpse we got of the great Fall, was at the distance of about three miles below it, from the right or eastern bank of the river. Without attempting to describe it, I may s .y that I felt at the moment quite sure no subsequent examination, whether near or remote, could ever remove, or even materally weaken, the impression left by this first view.

From the time we discovered the stream, and especially after coming within hearing of the cataract, our expectations were of course wound up to the highest pitch. Most people, I suppose, in the course of their lives, must, on some occasion or other, have found themselves on the eve of a momentous occurrence; and by recalling what they experienced at that time, will perhaps understand better what was felt, than I can venture to describe it. I remember myself experiencing something akin to it at St Helena, when waiting in Napoleon's outer room, under the consciousness that the tread which I heard was from the foot of the man who, a short while before, had roved at will over so great a portion of the world; but whose range was now confined to a few chambers—and that I was separated from this astonishing person, only by a door, which was just about to open. So it was with Niagara. I knew that at the next turn of the road, I should behold the most splendid sight on earth,—the outlet to those mighty reservoirs, which contain, it is said, one-half of the fresh water on the surface of our planet.

I remember very early in life, having amused myself by anticipating the pleasure I was to receive from travelling, and set my heart, in a particular manner, upon seeing a certain number of remarkable objects in various corners of the globe.

Niagara, of course, always occupied a principal station in this list, from which it has been my good fortune to strike off the greater number. It may look a little paradoxical perhaps, but nevertheless it is quite true, that while I have very rarely been disappointed, things have in no instance been found exactly what they were looked for. The reality, however, has generally much exceeded the expectation. Sometimes, though not often, this excess of performance over promise has followed at once, even when the anticipations have been very high. But in most cases it has required time and careful study to understand, as well as to feel how much farther the actual presence of the wonders of nature can carry our thoughts, than any previous unassisted conceptions can raise them.

On first coming to a scene so stupendous and varied as that of Niagara, the attention is embarrassed by the crowd of new objects; and it always requires a certain degree of time to arrange the images which are suggested, before they can be duly appreciated. Any new knowledge, it must be recollected, of whatever kind, in order to be useful, requires to be combined with what we have previously gained, not for the idle purpose of drawing offensive comparisons—its too frequent application—but with a view to the purification of our

own thoughts, and the expulsion of errors, and narrowing prejudices, which light upon us with the quietness of thistle down, but cling like burs, go where we will, or see what we may.

In our ordinary progress through the world, it may be remarked, we acquire new ideas so gradually, and allow them to mix with the old ones so silently, that we are often unconscious of the change, and find it difficult to trace the steps, by which the transition has been effected, from a worse to a better informed state of mind. It is quite otherwise, however, when we are brought suddenly up to such an extensive combination of new circumstances as we find crowded together at Niagara, for example, or at Teneriffe, or at Canton. It then becomes absolutely necessary to the right application of this deluge of new facts, that we should make ourselves familiar with them by repeated and leisurely observation; and by teaching us how to disentangle one circumstance in the picture from another, allow each to take its proper place in our minds, side by side, or to amalgamate with the results of previous experience.

If this process be necessary in the case of a person who has actually reached the presence of such objects, it will easily be seen how impossible it must be for him to describe, to the satisfaction of others, those things which, with all his local ad-

vantages, it costs him a long while to comprehend, or to make any proper use of.

Even on the spot, it is probable that the observer himself takes correct notice of a small part only of the objects presented to his view. Those, however, which he does remark, straightway suggest images in his mind, suitable to his own particular character, and of course essentially modified by the peculiar circumstances of his past life. Now, if we suppose it possible that he could describe, with what is called perfect or graphic fidelity, both the facts themselves which strike his senses, and the ideas which arise in his mind from a contemplation of them, the chances are still infinitely against these recorded conceptions being found suitable to the minds of his different readers. At the very best, the ideas suggested to others by his descriptions, must inevitably be feeble and incomplete in comparison with his own. For, it must always be remembered that his impressions are not produced by the observation of a series of details, considered one after another,—the only method in which a reader can view them,—but are stamped upon his mind and feelings at the moment, by the whole in combination. The process of reading a description, in short, is like that of taking a telescope to pieces, and looking at the distant object through each separate lens,—instead of making them all

bear upon one another by appropriate adjustments in the tube.

There is absolutely no remedy for this but a journey to the place, and the superior enjoyment of the traveller on such occasions is the reward which he gathers for the privations of the road. Nevertheless, this laborious experiment will not always answer; for many persons, even when looking at these falls, are as much disappointed as the man who expected to understand a book by putting on spectacles, though he had never learnt to read.

The commonplace maxim, therefore, so frequently rung in the ears of travellers, not to attempt what is called description, but to tell what their own genuine feelings are upon these occasions, must often fail to produce any effect, purely from the absence of that kindred sympathy, which no writer can, or ought to suppose extends, in his own case, beyond the circle of friends to whom his habits of thinking are well known. Even if he could reckon upon a larger audience who should understand him, the probability is, he would not advance his object much.

The task of description, therefore, as a substitute for travelling, is quite hopeless; for it appears there is an utter impossibility of bringing the leading circumstances with sufficient correctness of drawing, and in a body, before the imagination of

the reader. And if the actual observer could, by any art, accomplish this, still he would find it impossible to impart an adequate portion of those remote images, and of those vague and boundless associations with other scenes of his past travels, to which, of course, no words can do justice, but which form the bond of union in all cases among his thoughts, and often contain, in themselves—almost without being seen—a great part of the sum and substance of his pleasure. In such a harvest of curiosity, therefore, the pilgrim has for his pains the advantage of reaping the whole crop; while those who receive his information at second hand on his return, must be content with such gleanings as may drop from his stores as samples of the fertility of the distant land.

I have been led by the superior interest and importance of Niagara to apply these observations chiefly to that wonderful scene; but am of opinion that they might apply with equal force to most other circumstances which rise up in every man's path who goes from home. All he can hope to do, therefore, I fear, is to sketch with fidelity the outlines of what he sees, and leave his drawings to be filled up by the various dispositions, and the different degrees of knowledge, of his readers; each one being left to colour the picture according to his own taste or fancy.

It is curious to see with how much deeper, at all events more engrossing interest, we attend to our own private, domestic concerns, than to the grandest spectacles which the world presents. After reaching the Falls, we had still enough of daylight to take a hasty view of them before going to bed; and whether it was owing to the jolting of the roughest of rough roads, or to the fatigue of over-excited admiration, I do not know, but I soon dropped into a profound sleep, in spite of all the roaring close at hand. About 2 o'clock in the morning, while I was dreaming of one particular part of the Fall, called the Horse Shoe, which had struck me as being more peculiarly solemn than all the rest put together, I was awakened by a feeble cry from my little girl, who seemed to me, by some strange confusion, from which I could not disentangle her, to be struggling with the torrent. I started up in horror, but found that nothing more serious had occurred than the oversetting of the lamp. The darkness, added to the unusual rumbling noise of the waterfall alarmed the child to such a degree, that I could by no means soothe her, and I set off in quest of a light. In groping along the passages, I came accidentally to an open window in the back part of the house, where my ear was arrested by the loud splashing noise of the rapids above the Falls, dashing past, immediately under

the verandah. The deep sound of the more distant cascade was also heard, far louder, and quite different in kind from that of the rapids. For the first time I became conscious of the full magnificence of the scene.

The night was very dark, though the stars were out, twinkling and flashing over the cataract; and there rose a damp, earthy smell from the ground, as if the dew had been settling heavily upon it; or perhaps it might be the spray from the Falls. There was not the slightest breath of wind to shake the drops from the leaves, and I stood for some time endeavouring to recollect what I had met with before, which resembled this. The hollow sound of the surf at Madras was at length brought to my thoughts, as the nearest thing to it.

Quite forgetting my errand, I allowed myself to be carried away to the other side of the globe, in a mysterious sort of half sleeping, half waking, but very delightful reverie—when, all at once, a fresh cry from the impatient young traveller made me sensible how much the sound of her little voice, properly pitched, was an overmatch even for the thunders of Niagara.

The Falls are divided into two parts by Goat Island, on which we passed the greater part of the next day, sketching with the Camera, and straining our eyes till the sight became almost painful.

We walked round the island several times in the course of the day, and though it affords a great variety of admirable views of the Falls, and also of the rapids, both on the American and on the English sides of the river, we always found ourselves drawn back irresistibly to the Great Horse Shoe, where the largest portion of the stream passes over a concave edge, and where, from its depth, I suppose, it acquires a deep green colour, seen at no other part of the cascade; almost all the rest being nearly snow-white.

In hunting for similes to describe what we saw and heard, we were quite agreed that the sound of the Falls most nearly resembles that of a grist mill, of large dimensions. There is precisely the same incessant, rumbling, deep, monotonous sound, accompanied by the tremour which is observable in a building where many pairs of millstones are at work. This tremulous effect extends to the distance of several hundred yards from the river; but is most conspicuous on Goat Island, which stands in the centre between the two Falls.

The noise of the rapids is also loud, but much sharper; and varies a good deal with the situation of the listener. We were walking one day along a path in the woods on the island, at some distance from the great cataract, and there, it struck me, the sound of the rapids resembled not a little

the noise caused by a heavy shower of rain on the leaves of a forest, in a calm.

The scenery in the neighbourhood of Niagara has, in itself, little or no interest, and has been rendered still less attractive by the erection of hotels, paper manufactories, saw-mills, and numerous other raw, staring, wooden edifices. Perhaps it is quite as well that it should be so; because any scenery which should be in keeping with the grand object which gives its character to this wonderful spot, would, in all probability, diminish the effect produced by its standing entirely on its own merits. On this principle, I remember being made sensible, when looking at the temples of Pæstum, how much the effect was heightened by their being placed on a plain, far from trees, mountains, or houses.

It has been said, that there is always something about a bridge which interests, more or less. If it be not picturesque in itself, it may be curious in its structure; or high; or long; or may possess something or other to attract notice. At all events, the bridge which connects the main American shore with Goat Island is one of the most singular pieces of engineering in the world, and shows, not only much skill and ingenuity, but boldness of thought in its projector, the owner of the island. It is between six and seven hundred feet in length, and

is thrown across one of the worst parts of the rapids, not more than fifty yards above the crest of the American Fall. It is made of wood, and consists of seven straight portions, resting on wooden piers so contrived as to have perfect stability, although the foundation on which they rest is extremely unequal. The bed of the river at that place is covered with rounded and angular stones, varying from the size of a wheel-barrow to that of a stage-coach, and either lying side by side, or piled in heaps; so that while the tops of some of them reach within a foot or two of the surface, others lie at the depth of twelve or fifteen feet. Along this rugged and steep bottom, the river dashes in a torrent covered with breakers and foam, at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, making a noise not unlike that of the sea on a shallow ledge of rocks. Without the assistance of drawings, however, I fear it would scarcely be possible to render intelligible any account of this extraordinary work, which has added much to the interest of Niagara, by giving visitors the command of many points of view altogether inaccessible before.

I had the satisfaction of walking over the whole of Goat Island one day with the proprietor, who seemed unaffectedly desirous of rendering it an agreeable place of resort to strangers. He had been recommended, he told me, by many people, to trim

and dress it; to clear away most of the woods; and by all means to extirpate every one of the crooked trees. I expressed my indignation at such a barbarous set of proposals, and tried hard to explain how repugnant they were to all our notions of taste in Europe. His ideas, I was glad to see, appeared to coincide with mine; so that this conversation may have contributed, in some degree, to the salvation of the most interesting spot in all America.

On his asking me what I thought he should do, I took the liberty of advising him to let nature alone as to the trees; to make a gravel walk all round the island, broad enough for three persons to walk abreast; to open little paths in the direction of the best situations for seeing the Falls, and having put down half a dozen commodious seats at the said points, to leave all the rest to the choice of the worthy tourists themselves. I had almost forgotten to mention that some one had seriously urged him to place a great tavern immediately over the Horse Shoe Fall; but, for the present at least, his own good taste revolted at such a combination of the sublime and the ridiculous. I have little doubt, however, that this descent, which we know from high authority and example costs but one step, will be made in the course of time.

On the evening of the same day we drove to-

wards Lake Ontario for six or seven miles on the right bank of the Niagara, and then crossed over to the Canada shore at Queenstown, and found ourselves once more in his Majesty's dominions, after having passed six weeks in the United States. This interval, though short, had been so busy, that it appeared very long. The effect I speak of may have been increased, perhaps, by the circumstance of the people amongst whom we had mixed all thinking, speaking, acting, and feeling so very differently from those of our own country; with just sufficient resemblance in external appearance to force those comparisons upon our notice, which, in a country totally dissimilar in language and manners, such as France or Spain, it would never have occurred to us to draw. It was curious, indeed, to observe how great a change in many of the most essential particulars of national character, and customs, and appearance, a short half-mile —a mere imaginary geographical division—could make. The air we breathed seemed different, the sky, the land, the whole scenery, appeared to be altered; and I must say, that of all the changes I have ever made in a life of ceaseless locomotion, I have seldom been conscious of any transition from one country to another more striking than this.

Close to the spot where we landed in Canada, there stands a monument to the gallant General Brock, who was killed during the battle of Queenstown, in the act of repelling an invasion of the frontier by the Americans during the late war. At the base of the column we found two men standing, and I said to one of them, "I am sure you are an English soldier?"—"I am a Scotch one, sir," said he, "which, I hope, is no worse." I was the less disposed to gainsay this, from detecting in my friend's dialect the "patois" of my native town, Edinburgh. The view from the top of the monument extended far over Lake Ontario, and showed us the windings of the Niagara, through the low and wooded country which hangs like a rich green fringe along the southern skirts of that great sheet of water.

By the time we reached Forsyth's Inn, close to the Falls on the English side, we had barely light enough left to see the cataract from the balcony of our bedroom—distant from it, in a straight line, not a couple of hundred yards. I cannot bring myself to attempt any description of the pleasure which we experienced, while thus sitting at ease, and conscious of viewing, in sober reality, and at leisure, an object with which we had been familiar, in fancy at least, all our lives.

In description, the reader is seldom trusted by his

author with any thing but the most striking, or what are called characteristic, features. But when he reaches the very spot, he has the satisfaction of being allowed a sort of personal intimacy with a thousand minor details, which no writer or sketcher would have courage to bring into his picture; and which, indeed, if told in detail, might often be deplorably tedious, yet, when so placed as to be all seen at one and the same glance, contribute to fill the mind in a most agreeable manner.

We passed the greater part of the 2d of July in roving about the banks, and studying the Falls in as many different aspects as we could command. In the course of our investigations and rambles, we met a gentleman who had resided for the last thirty-six years in this neighbourhood—happy mortal! He told us that the Great Horse Shoe Fall had, within his memory, gone back forty or fifty yards—that is to say, the edge, or arch of the rock over which the water poured, had broken down from time to time to that extent. This account was corroborated by that of another gentleman, who had been resident on the spot for forty years.

As these statements came from persons of good authority, I was led to examine the geological circumstances more minutely; for I could not conceive it possible, that the mere wearing of the water could perform such rapid changes upon hard

lime-stone. The explanation is very simple, however, when the nature of the different strata is attended to. In the first place, they are laid exactly horizontal, the top stratum being a compact calcareous rock. In the next place, I observed, that in proportion as the examination is carried downwards, the strata are found to be less and less indurated, till, at the distance of a hundred feet from the topmost stratum, the rock turns to a sort of loose shale, which crumbles to pieces under the touch; and is rapidly worn away by the action of the violent blasts of wind, rising out of the pool into which this enormous cascade is projected.

In process of time, as the lower strata are fairly eaten or worn away, the upper part of the rock must be left without a foundation. But owing to the tough nature of the upper strata, they continue to project a long way over before they break down. There must come periods, however, every now and then, when the overhanging rock, with such an immense load of water on its shoulders, will give way, and the crest, or edge, of the Fall will recede a certain distance. At the time of our visit, the top of the rock, or that over which the river was directed, overhung the base, according to the rough estimate I made, between 35 and 40 feet, thus forming a hollow space, or cave, between the falling water and the face of the rock.

While the above lines were actually in the printer's hands, my eye was accidentally caught by the following paragraph in a newspaper :—

"NIAGARA FALLS.—A letter from a gentleman at that place, dated Dec. 30, 1828, states, that on the Sunday evening preceding, about 9 o'clock, two or three successive shocks or concussions were felt, the second of which was accompanied by an unusual rushing sound of the waters. The next morning it was discovered, that a large portion of the rock in the bed of the river, at the distance of about two-fifths from the Canada shore to the extreme angle of the Horse Shoe, had broken off, and fallen into the abyss below. The whole aspect of the Falls is said to be much changed by this convulsion. A course of high winds for several days previous to its occurrence, producing an accumulation of water in the river, is supposed to have been the immediate cause. This gradual crumbling away of the rock over which the Niagara is precipitated, adds plausibility to the conjecture, that the Falls were once as low down as Lewistown, and have for centuries been travelling up towards their present position."

I visited on three different occasions the extraordinary cave formed between the cascade and the face of the overhanging cliff—first, on the 3d of July, out of mere curiosity ; again on the 9th, to try some

experiments with the barometer; and lastly, on the 10th, in company with a friend, purely on account of the excitement which I found such a strange combination of circumstances produce. We reached a spot 153 feet from the outside, or entrance, by the assistance of a guide, who makes a handsome livelihood by this amphibious pilotage. There was a tolerably good, green sort of light within this singular cavern; but the wind blew us first in one direction then in another with such alarming violence, that I thought at first we should be fairly carried off our feet, and jerked into the roaring caldron beneath. This tempest, however, was not nearly so great an inconvenience as the unceasing deluges of water driven against us. Fortunately the direction of this gale of wind was always more or less upwards, from the pool below, right against the face of the cliffs; were it otherwise, I fancy it would be impossible to go behind the Falls, with any chance of coming out again. Even now there is a great appearance of hazard in the expedition, though experience shows that there is no real danger. Indeed the guide, to re-assure us, and to prove the difficulty of the descent, actually leaped downwards, to the distance of five or six yards, from the top of the bank of rubbish at the base of the cliff, along which the path is formed. The gusts of wind rising out of the basin or pool

below, blew so violently against him that he easily regained the walk.

This enormous cataract, in its descent, like every other cascade, carries along with it a quantity of air, which it forces far below the surface of the water,—an experiment which any one may try on a small scale by pouring water into a tumbler from a height. The quantity of air thus carried down, by so vast a river as Niagara, must be great, and the depth to which it is driven, in all probability, considerable. It may also be much condensed by the pressure; and it will rise with proportionate violence both on the outside of the cascade, and within the sheet or curtain which forms the cataract.

It had long been a subject of controversy, I was told, whether the air in the cave behind the Falls was condensed or rarified; and it was amusing to listen to the conflicting arguments on the subject. All parties agreed that there was considerable difficulty in breathing; but while some ascribed this to a want of air, others asserted that it arose from the quantity being too great. The truth, however, obviously is, that we have too much water; not too much air. For I may ask, with what comfort could any man breathe with half a dozen fire-engines playing full in his face? and positively the effect of the blast behind the Falls is just what that awkward

ceremony might be supposed to produce. The direction of the wind is first one way and then another, crossing and thwarting, in a very confused style, and flinging the water sometimes up, sometimes down, and often whirling it round and round like smoke, in curls or spirals, up to the very top of the cave, a hundred feet above our heads, to the very edge of the precipice, over which we could distinctly see the river projected forwards, and just beginning to curve downwards. By the way, I took notice that, exactly in proportion to the apparent thickness of the mass of water, so it continued united after passing the brink. But I do not think at any part of Niagara the sheet of falling water remains unbroken for more than twenty feet, and that only at one place, well known by the name of the Green Water—the most sublime and impressive part of the whole Fall. At every other, the cascade assumes a snowy whiteness very shortly after it begins to descend. This appearance is aided, no doubt, by the blast of wind which rises from the pool on the outside of the sheet; for I observed that the external surface of the cataract was roughened, or turned upwards in a series of frothy ripples, caused either by its friction against the air through which it was passing, or more probably by the blast rising upwards from the pool.

I remarked another singular phenomenon, which

I have not happened to hear mentioned before, but which is evidently connected with this branch of the subject. A number of small, sharp-pointed cones of water are projected upwards from the pool, on the outside of the Fall, sometimes to the height of a hundred and twenty feet. They resemble in form some comets of which I have seen drawings. Their point, or apex, which is always turned upwards, is quite sharp, and not larger, I should say, than a man's fingers and thumb, brought as nearly to a point as possible. The conical tails which stream from these watery meteors may vary from one or two yards to ten or twelve, and are spread out on all sides in a very curious manner.

The lower part of the Fall, it must be observed, is so constantly hidden from the view by a thick rolling cloud of spray, that during ten days I never succeeded once in getting a glimpse of the bottom of the falling sheet; nor do I believe it is ever seen. Out of this cloud, which waves backwards and forwards, and rises at times to the height of many hundreds of feet above the Falls, these singular cones, or comets, are seen at all times jumping up. The altitude to which they are projected, I estimated at about thirty feet below the top; which inference I was led to by means of the sketches made with the Camera Lucida. I watched my op-

portunity, and made dots at the points reached by the highest of these curious projectiles. The whole height being between 150 and 160 feet, the perpendicular elevation to which these jets of water are thrown cannot, therefore, be less than 110 or 120 feet above the surface of the pool.

The controversy respecting the elasticity of the air behind the Fall, was soon settled. I carried with me a barometer made expressly with a view to this experiment. It was of the most delicate kind, and furnished with two contrivances absolutely indispensable to the accuracy of experiments made under such circumstances. The first of these was a circular spirit-level placed on the top of the frame holding the tube, by which the perpendicularity of the instrument was ascertained; and secondly, an arrangement of screws near the point of support, by which the tube, when duly adjusted, could be secured firmly in its place. By the help of these two inventions of Mr Adie of Edinburgh, this instrument can be used with confidence, although exposed to such furious storms of wind and rain, as that I have just been describing. These simple additions to the barometer, it may be mentioned, give great facility to observations made for the determination of the height of mountains, as it secures the correct position of the instrument, however windy the station may be.

The mercury stood, at two stations on the outside, at 29. 68. The instrument was then carried behind the Falls and placed near the Termination Rock, as an impassable angle of the cliff is called, which lies at the distance of 153 feet from the entrance, measuring from the Canadian or western extremity of the Great Horse Shoe Fall. It now stood at about 29. 72. The thermometer in both cases being at 70. of Fahrenheit. The inner station was probably ten or twelve feet lower than the external one; and it will be easily understood, that in such a situation, with a torrent of water pouring over the instrument and the observer, and hard squalls or gusts of wind threatening to whisk the whole party into the abyss, there could be no great nicety of readings. I observed, that within the Fall, the mercury vibrated in the tube about four hundredths of an inch, and was never perfectly steady; the highest and lowest points were therefore observed by the eye, and the mean recorded. During the external observations there was only a slight tremor visible on the surface of the column. In order to prevent mistakes, I repeated the experiment at another spot, about 120 feet within the entrance, when the mercury stood at about 29. 74. though still vibrating several hundredths of an inch. Upon the whole, then, considering that the inner stations were lower than the external one, the

small difference between the external and the internal readings may be ascribed to errors in observation, and not to any difference in the degree of elasticity in the air without and within the sheet of falling water.

Though I was only half an hour behind the Fall, I came out much exhausted, partly with the bodily exertion of maintaining a secure footing while exposed to such buffeting and drenching, and partly, I should suppose, from the interest belonging to this scene, which certainly exceeds any thing I ever witnessed before. All parts of Niagara, indeed, are on a scale which baffles every attempt of the imagination to paint, and it were ridiculous, therefore, to think of describing it. The ordinary materials of description, I mean analogy, and direct comparison with things which are more accessible, fail entirely in the case of that amazing cataract, which is altogether unique.

Yet a great deal, I am certain, might be done by a well-executed panorama, drawn from below, at a station near the projecting angle of the rock which must be passed, after leaving the bottom of the ladder, on the way to the cave I have been speaking about. An artist, well versed in this peculiar sort of painting, might produce a picture which would probably distance every thing else of the kind. He must not, however, trust to the

sketches of others, but go to the Falls himself; and there become acquainted with those feelings which the actual presence of that stupendous scene is capable of inspiring. For without some infusion of these local sentiments into his painting, were it ever so correct in outline, the result would be nothing but a large picture of a large waterfall, instead of the noblest, and perhaps the most popular of those singular works of art, which, by a species of magic, transport so many distant regions to our very doors.

On the 7th of July, by way of relief from the absorbing interest of the Falls, we accepted an invitation to a country house in the neighbourhood, within hearing, but not in sight of, the object which had occupied all our thoughts for the last week.

Our host, some years before, with the prophetic eye of taste, as it has been elegantly called, had selected a certain spot in the midst of the wilderness, which he conceived, from the nature of the ground, the description of trees which grew upon it, and the extent of view which it commanded, might be converted, with little trouble, from its wild state into a beautiful park,—such as must have cost, in the ordinary process of old countries, at least one century, if not two, to bring it to any

thing like the maturity which he found on the spot, almost ready to his hand.

The soil appeared to be peculiarly favourable to forest trees, since it was covered, but not too thickly, with venerable oaks, which, from having had room to spread their arms—a rare occurrence in that country—had grown to a great size. His idea was to remove those trees only which encumbered the ground, near the spot selected as the site of his house, or interfered with his view of Lake Ontario, and the distant high grounds of Upper Canada.

To work he went; cleared out a space of ground for the house, smoothed his lawn, completed his garden, laid down his gravel walks—regulating every thing with reference to the magnificent grove in front of the house, the principal feature in his foreground, which required nothing but some partial thinnings amongst the oaks. Of course care was taken to mark, in a particular manner, all those sacred trees, the growth probably of many ages, which were on no account to be touched; while those intended for the axe were blazed, as it is called, in the usual manner.

On a particular day appropriated to these thinning operations, the proprietor was called away by urgent business; but before leaving the ground, he gave orders for the condemned trees to be removed in his absence. The workmen, however,

who, from their infancy, had known nothing about trees, except that they ought to be cut down as fast as possible, decided, in their precious wisdom, that it must surely be the blazed trees which were meant to be preserved. The first thing, accordingly, that struck the master's eye on his return, was the whole of his noble grove lying flat on the ground, while only a dozen or two of scraggy oaks, pines, and hemlocks, destined for the fire, were left standing to tell the tale!

On Sunday night, the 8th of July, we returned to the Falls, and walked down to the table rock to view them by moonlight. Our expectations, as may be supposed, were high, but the sight was even more impressive than we had expected. It possessed, it is true, what may be called a more sober kind of interest than that belonging to the wild scene behind the sheet of water above described. I may mention one curious effect: It seemed to the imagination not impossible that the Fall might swell up and grasp us in its vortex. The actual presence of any very powerful moving object, is often more or less remotely connected with a feeling that its direction may be changed; and when the slightest variation would evidently prove fatal, a feeling of awe is easily excited. At all events, as I gazed upon the cataract, it more than once appeared to increase in its volume, and

to be accelerated in its velocity, till my heated fancy became strained, alarmed, and so much overcrowded with new and old images,—all exaggerated,—that in spite of the conviction that the whole was nonsense, I felt obliged to draw back from the edge of the rock; and it required a little reflection, and some resolution, to advance again to the brink.

During the delightful period that the Falls formed our head-quarters, we made various excursions to several interesting objects in the neighbourhood. Of these, the most amusing were, a trip to Buffalo, a flourishing American town at the eastern end of Lake Erie, where the great New York canal commences,—and a visit to the Welland canal, which joins Lake Erie with Lake Ontario.

It is amusing to look back, after a journey is over, at those objects which at the time excited the most vivid interest, but which have faded from the recollection so completely, that any description of them from memory would be feeble and unsatisfactory, while a literal transcript of the notes written on the spot would be no less inaccurate from their extravagance and high colouring. The mere proximity of some things, gives them an importance which we are apt to mistake for a permanent and intrinsic value; whereas their real consequence may not extend beyond their own small

circumference. Even on the spot, it is frequently no easy job for the stranger to decide which of a variety of objects he shall devote most of his attention to. And his perplexity is frequently increased by the local authorities, who, with the best dispositions to oblige him, have generally some pet lion of their own, to which they are anxious to call his exclusive attention. Much precious time is thus frequently wasted on matters of the merest insignificance, while others of paramount importance are left unexamined, and very often unknown, till it be too late.

In Italy, or any other old country, every picture, statue, or ruin, worthy of notice, is recorded, and brought to the traveller's notice in spite of him; and, under the directions of his cicerone, he soon learns what he is to admire, and what he is to abuse. In America, however, there are none of these delightful aids to the taste and judgment. There, every thing is new, and nothing arranged, nor even any approach to classification attempted; and, consequently, the wretched explorer's body and soul are literally worn out by the ceaseless importunities of the inhabitants. With the kindest possible dispositions towards their guest, the Americans are never satisfied that he has seen any thing unless he has seen every thing; and if he leaves a single 'factory' unexamined, though he has seen fifty

similar, or if he pass by any one institution in a city —a college, an hospital, or a jail—it is at once set forth that he has seen nothing at all. "He has been in too great a hurry," say they; "he has not done justice to our country—he has preconceived notions in his head—he has not studied all our authorities—he has arrived at a most unfortunate season," and so forth. In short, it is soon settled that the unfortunate man knows nothing at all of his own professed business; which, supposing him to be competent in other respects, seems not very fair.

In travelling, or in reading, or in any other occupation, it is surely obvious that the only method of arriving at correct and useful, or even merely agreeable results, is to act upon some system of generalisation and method in our researches; to seek out, not for all, but a few of those books, men, and things, which shall give us, as far as may be required, comprehensive views of the whole subject we are investigating. The information to be drawn from these sources ought not only to be accurate, but characteristic; and in order to be useful, the facts must not be too minute, or too numerous; otherwise, they become trivial, serve only to distract the attention, and, finally, teach more error than truth.

The art, or craft, of travelling, like other arts,

can be acquired by practice alone. And, accordingly, in all the various countries I have visited before going to America, I never heard it doubted, that a person of moderate experience, and having no object but truth in view, who, with good opportunities within his reach, should devote his attention for upwards of a year, exclusively to one country, might gain a pretty competent knowledge of it, though he did not see every single institution, and every single person in it.

In America, however, this point is ruled quite otherwise; and unless a man will consent to shut up his own eyes, and see all things through those of the natives, or consent to remain long enough to become a thorough-bred American in feeling as well as in knowledge, and gain new optics accordingly—though how long that would require I cannot say—he has no chance of having it admitted, in that country at least, that he knows any thing of the subject he has undertaken to handle. The truth of this any foreigner who has visited America must have been made to feel in every corner of the country, and during every hour of his stay.

In the outset of my journey, this unreasonable and distrustful propensity on the part of the people, perplexed and grieved me very much; and it was not till I had gone half through the United States, and become—in my own opinion at least—

tolerably master of the subject, that I got hold of any thing like a satisfactory explanation of these singular anomalies in the national character.

The Canadians, however, I was delighted to find, were not by any means so exacting, or, in fact, more so than the inhabitants of European countries. They are as kind to their guests, however, as the Americans, and without insisting upon having every thing viewed couleur de rose, are content to believe that strangers passing through their country will take a fair view of things; and that although foreigners must often err on little points, they may possibly have it in their power, fully as much as themselves, to draw correct general inferences with respect to local customs and manners. Nor does it ever seem to enter into the thoughts of the Canadians, as it always does into those of their neighbours, that there is any thing peculiar, or mysterious, or difficult to be understood about their character.

With the Americans, on the other hand, there is always a solemn sort of enigmatical assumption of the intricacy and transcendent grandeur of their whole system, not to be comprehended by weak European minds. Nevertheless, with this universal authority against me on that side of the water, I suspect, it will be found, after all, that there is less variety in the American character individual-

ly, and less complication in their political systems, than in those of almost any other country. One or two very obvious principles appear, by their own showing, to regulate the whole matter, and these, after a time, are easily understood.

CHAPTER VII.

The Welland Canal is intended to perform the same step over the intervening land, as that made by the Falls and Rapids of Niagara, from the level of Lake Erie to that of Lake Ontario—only in a more gentle and manageable way. Niagara is wonderful and beautiful to look at, and so far has its advantages. But this great canal will be much more useful in advancing the ordinary business of life. The feelings excited by seeing these two noble works, the one of nature, the other of art, side by side, at the distance of only six or eight miles, are very different, I grant; but both, in their respective ways, are well calculated to fill the spectator with agreeable reflections.

There are many persons, indeed, as I have before hinted, upon whom the Falls of Niagara are in a great measure wasted, and who, from not feeling the grandeur of the scene themselves, are apt, not very fairly, to slight the expression of admira-

tion in others; and this, I fear, must continue as long as the Falls exist. Such a work, however, as the Welland Canal, has a different fate in general estimation. When the idea was first conceived, it was ridiculed by all persons, except a very few; and even after the ground was surveyed and the scheme found practicable, the whole project was considered so entirely hopeless, that it met with no active opposition from those who disapproved of it, nor any great support from those who wished it well.

The bold and workmanlike idea of making a ship canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, first originated with Mr William Hamilton Merritt, a resident at the village of St Catherine's, in Upper Canada, through which spot the canal now passes. And I was glad to observe that all parties concurred in saying that to his perseverance and knowledge of the subject, as well as to his great personal exertions, this useful work stands mainly indebted for its success. It is, indeed, curious to remark how often the most stupendous undertakings owe their existence to the vigorous intelligence of a single person, who, as in this case, may not, individually, have power to carry one thousandth part of his favourite project into effect. But by bringing the strength of his own mind to bear steadily on the capacities of others, a man of this stamp may

turn their superior means to his purpose; and thus assisted, be enabled to accomplish measures of the greatest wisdom and public utility, which mere undirected wealth might never have conceived, still less have executed.

The level of Lake Erie above Lake Ontario is 330 feet, which is surmounted by a series of thirty-seven locks, cut on the ridge of the mountain, facing Lake Ontario. The whole canal is forty-one miles and a half long, and is of a size to admit the largest class of sailing vessels navigating the lakes. These are schooners from 90 to 120 tons burden, and they will pass readily enough through the locks, which are made 100 feet long, and 22 feet wide. The depth of the water is at no place less than eight feet; and by a judicious set of arrangements, this may readily be augmented to ten feet, if vessels of a greater draught of water be built for the lakes. A great part of the channel of this canal, was ready made by nature. The Welland and Grand Rivers, indeed, which form a considerable portion of the whole work, are more like canals than running streams, their flow being imperceptible. Ten or twelve miles of the canal, also, are cut through a marsh, by which operation an extensive tract of rich soil has been laid bare and will be brought at once into cultivation,

in a part of the country, too, where such land is most valuable.

I mentioned, when speaking of the grand Erie Canal, on the American side, that a deep cut was made through the solid rock at Lockport. A similar rise in the ground—a prolongation of the same range—has made it necessary to form a deep cutting also for the Welland Canal to pass through. The difficulty, however, was here much less, from the top of the ridge consisting of clay instead of rock. The chain of locks by which the canal descends that side of the hill which faces Lake Ontario, was formed under greater advantages than the series at Lockport. They lie, during great part of the way, along the course of a ravine or natural cleft, so admirably suited to the purposes required, that in many instances little more has been found necessary than merely cutting a towing path on the banks, after damming up the water into a series of large ponds, or reservoirs, which serve not only the primary purpose of feeding the locks, but also furnish water in such profuse quantity, that numerous mills and manufactories will be supplied, even in the driest season, by the mere waste waters of the canal.

Another practical advantage of some moment has been secured by the peculiar conformation of this valley. It happens to be divided into a series

of steps, so far removed from one another, that there has been no necessity for placing any two of the locks together, so that the one shall open into the other. In consequence of this fortunate arrangement, a vessel going up has not longer to wait for another coming down, than the mere time necessarily occupied in passing a single lock. If two or more locks be in conjunction on a canal, it is clear that whenever vessels going in opposite ways meet, one of them must pass through the whole series before the other can enter the first lock.

At Lockport, on the Erie Canal, this difficulty has been judiciously overcome, at a great expense, however, by the establishment of a double set of locks, one for carrying boats up, the other for bringing them down. There is one other point on the American Canal where a number of locks again unavoidably come together in a single series. But this produces so much detention, that I have no doubt the same sagacity and spirit of enterprise, which have already done so much in that quarter, will soon remedy the evil, by forming another set side by side with the first.

The Welland Canal is 58 feet wide at the surface, 26 at bottom, and carries 8 feet water at its shallowest places. At no great expense, if it shall be wanted, this depth may at any time be increa-

sed to 10 feet throughout. All the locks are constructed of wood, which, in a country abounding in timber, is certainly the cheapest and most natural material to use. Their cost has been estimated at one ninth part of the expense of stone locks; and if it shall be thought advisable eventually to reconstruct them of more durable materials, the canal will then afford a ready means of transporting the hewn stones to the very spot, at an expense utterly insignificant compared to what it would have been in the first instance.

It always struck me that the locks on the Erie or New York Canal, might have been advantageously made, in like manner, of timber; because, independently of the saving of money, the mere interest of which saving would have kept wooden locks permanently in repair, there would have been another great advantage in the facility with which the dimensions of the locks might have been enlarged. Should it be thought useful, as it probably will very soon be, to make the whole line of the Erie Canal large enough for schooners, in imitation of the Welland Canal, the circumstance of all the locks being built of stone will be a serious embarrassment.

The Welland canal was undoubtedly suggested by the great work just alluded to, and, in turn, it is not improbable that the Americans will take the above

hint from their opposite neighbours in Canada. This is generous and legitimate rivalry; and although, at first sight, it may seem that the Welland Canal, by offering superior advantages, will draw away from New York a portion of the rich produce of the state of Ohio, of Upper Canada, and of the other boundless fertile regions which form the shores of the higher lakes, yet there seems little doubt that the actual production of materials requiring transport will increase still faster than the means of carrying them to the sea, and that ere long additional canals, besides these two, will be found necessary. At all events, the upper countries alluded to will derive considerable advantages from having a free choice of markets, as they may now proceed either to New York by the Erie Canal, or by the Welland Canal, down the river St Lawrence, according as the market of New York or that of Montreal shall happen to be the most favourable, or the means of transport cheapest.

The Welland Canal has some farther advantage over its rival, I understand, from its southern end, or that which opens into Lake Erie, lying further to the westward along the northern shore of the lake, than the opening of the American canal. In consequence of this circumstance, the ice, it is said, blocks up the entrance to the Erie Canal at Buffalo, several weeks longer than the mouth of the

Welland Canal, and thus a considerable advance is gained by its being open earlier in spring, and later in autumn, than the other.

Lake Erie is not above ten or twelve fathoms deep, and is frozen over every season. But Lake Ontario, it is interesting to observe, is so deep that ice never forms upon it. It thus acts the part of a great heater to temper the severity of the winters in those regions; and we find that the climate on both sides of this magnificent body of water, which is 170 miles in length, by 35 in breadth, is actually much milder in winter, and cooler in summer, than either at New York or Quebec.

It will be seen by looking at the map of North America, that there are three great outlets by which the produce of the interior may find its way to the ocean;—the Mississippi, which joins the sea near New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico; the St Lawrence, which passes Montreal and Quebec; and lastly, the Hudson, which runs out at New York. These three channels are made to centre in the great northern lakes, partly by nature and partly by the assistance of man. The Hudson is joined to Lake Erie by the grand canal so often mentioned, and also to Lake Ontario by a branch from it which runs from Syracuse to Oswego; and thus the port of New York may receive the produce of

the countries which lie on the borders of all the lakes, by a course of uninterrupted water carriage.

A canal is nearly completed (1829), which is to join Lake Erie with the Ohio river, and as that stream runs into the Mississippi, a water communication between the lakes and the Gulf of Mexico will soon be opened, through the heart of the state of Ohio.

The most obvious and natural, and it soon will be the most advantageous communication with the sea, is that by the river St Lawrence. One grand step towards the accomplishment of this object, which is of the highest importance, not only to the Canadas, but to the parent state, has already been made by the construction of the Welland Canal, as it links together all the upper lakes, by means of a ship canal, with Lake Ontario. Were the navigation of the river St Lawrence unimpeded, during its course from Lake Ontario to the sea, there would be nothing further to desire on that point, and Upper Canada would then virtually be, what it ought to be, but what it certainly is not at present, in any sense of the word,—a maritime province of Great Britain. The advantages to the colony, and also to the mother country, which would flow from the increased facility of commercial and other intercourse between them, which these channels would open, are more considerable than many

people are aware of. It may be worth while, therefore, to consider the means which it is proposed to adopt, in order to facilitate the direct intercourse between Great Britain and Upper Canada.

The countries belonging to his Majesty bordering on the lakes, or drained by the rivers which discharge themselves into the St Lawrence, are capable, it is said, of producing for export as much grain and flour as the whole United States. Now, British merchandise is admitted into the Canadas, over the whole of the fertile region alluded to, at a duty of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while the return produce of those countries pays in England only about 5s. per quarter for wheat; whereas, in the United States, the duties on British merchandise run as high as 80 per cent., and in many cases much higher, and the duty upon the import of American wheat into England is very high: so that a vast direct mart for the manufactured goods of England lies open to us in Canada. I say nothing of the immense waste weir, as it has been called, across the frontier, and over which, morally or immorally, the surplus importation of goods into Canada will find its way into the United States, in spite of all the tariffs, and all the custom-house officers in the world;—the smugglers will defy the mutual wishes of both governments to prevent illicit intercourse.

Were American grain allowed to be shipped in

the St Lawrence at rates not greatly higher than that from our own provinces, an additional stimulus would obviously be given to our commercial intercourse with the northern and western frontiers of the United States. But how far this could be made suitable to the present system of corn laws in England, seems more than doubtful.

The physical impediments to the free intercourse between Lake Ontario and the sea consist of numberless troublesome rapids which can be ascended only at the cost of much time, labour, and money. A canal, however, cut round these rapids, would effect this important object, and connect Lake Ontario with the ocean. If this were completed, the transport of one ton of merchandise, which now costs L.7, 10s., might be conveyed from the sea to Lake Erie for L.2, 5s., according to data collected from the average experience of other canals in that country.

The communication between the sea and Lake Erie, is at present almost exclusively enjoyed by the Americans, who send their goods either direct by the grand canal, or turn out of it at Syracuse, and having entered Lake Ontario at Oswego, proceed to the Welland Canal, and thus easily reach Lake Erie.

The English, however, have no such means, as yet, of reaching Upper Canada. By the above

route, it costs the Americans 180 miles of canal, and 576 feet of lockage, to establish a communication between the ocean and Lake Ontario; while if the improvements above alluded to were completed round the rapids of the St Lawrence, 60 miles of canal, and 194 feet of lockage, would accomplish the same purpose.

At present, the expense of transporting a ton of goods from New York to Lake Ontario by the route above mentioned, is L.2, 13s.; and that of conveying the same quantity by the St Lawrence in its present imperfect state, is L.4, 10s.—which gives a preponderance against the Canadian route of L.1, 17s. Whereas, if the proposed canal were constructed, so as to overcome the difficulty of navigating the St Lawrence, a ton of merchandise might be sent to Lake Ontario for 15s., which, compared with the present cost by the American canal, L.2, 13s., would leave a preponderance of L.1, 18s. in favour of the English. It is important to observe, that as these distinctions are caused entirely by the differences in levels and in distances specified above, the advantage, if once taken possession of by the Canadian government, could never, by the nature of things, be interfered with. Possibly, also, if the navigation of the St Lawrence were improved, a considerable portion of the American produce which now finds its way to New

York, would drain off by the less expensive channel of the St Lawrence, supposing the markets to be equally good.

The pecuniary part of these statements has been confined to the intercourse with Lake Ontario; but it might easily be shown, that if Lake Erie, and the enormous extent of fertile shores which every where fringe the great lakes connected with it, be the objects, the proportionate cheapness of the communication would be still greater by the route of the St Lawrence, than by that of the Erie Canal.

It has been objected to this argument, that the ports of Quebec and Montreal are frozen up during several months of the year, whereas that of New York is always open. But to this there are two answers. The winter in those countries is the season when agricultural produce is collected on the banks of the rivers, ready to be sent to market on the opening of the navigation; and very little business would be done even were the St Lawrence then free from ice. In the second place, the Erie Canal, the great feeder of New York from the interior, and almost all the streams which contribute to the same purpose, are closed very nearly as long as the St Lawrence. To which it may be added, that the supplies of European goods intended for the interior, are generally im-

ported in the spring and autumn, when both routes are open.

The physical difficulties which stand in the way of these improvements will easily be turned to useful account by the plastic hands of genius and perseverance. But the moral, or rather the political, impediments to the right adjustment of this question, are formed of so much tougher materials, that I scarcely hope to escape being deemed presumptuous for touching upon them at all.

One of the most obvious difficulties, I suspect, in the way of improving the intercourse between Upper Canada and the sea, consists in the absence of a hearty political union between the upper and lower provinces. The effect of this want of concert is, that their joint resources are not, and cannot, I fear, be directed to this and many other objects which, if the colonies were thoroughly joined, would eminently advance the interests of the united body.

How such a political alliance is to be brought about, I have not information enough to enable me to judge; but there is one scheme for paving the way towards so desirable a consummation, which, I confess, has always appeared to me extremely feasible, and I trust it will not be allowed to go to sleep. I allude to the annexation of Montreal to Upper Canada. Until that point be ar-

ranged, the resources of the upper province, one of the richest portions of his Majesty's dominions, must inevitably be cramped, and its effective interest in us diminished. Without a seaport which she can call her own, and without those advantages, commercial and financial, which nothing else can supply, her energies of every kind must be deadened; and, above all, those relations which bind her and the mother country together cannot fail to be loosened—or, to speak more correctly, they have not yet been properly established, and I fear never can be, while she is thus blocked out from the sea.

Upper Canada, by political birthright, as well as her steady loyalty to Great Britain, is certainly entitled to be placed on equal terms with her neighbours. But until the only seaport she can possibly obtain, be included within her boundary, and her legislature be thus vested with efficient control over the commercial resources of the colony, that province must be virtually separated from us, and from the rest of the world. She will be even estranged from her sister colonies in that continent, and also from those of the West Indies, with all of which she is unquestionably entitled to hold as open relations, as are enjoyed by any of the rest of his Majesty's possessions. But these relations it is almost a mockery to suppose she can keep up with-

out a free access to the ocean, not as a matter of favour, but as an inherent territorial right, independent of the good-will of any other country or province. This claim is much strengthened, in the opinion of its advocates, by the fact that, although she has no seaport, two-thirds of the exports from the river St Lawrence are the produce of Upper Canada, and as this ratio will probably go on increasing in her favour, it becomes daily more and more important for England to consider the question attentively.

The Lower Canadians are, I believe, and not unnaturally, averse to the relinquishment of Montreal; but they might well be contented with the magnificent port of Quebec; especially as there can be little doubt that any augmentation of wealth in their sister colony must be fully shared by them, and their profits from that source would, probably, very soon overbalance any loss incident to this nominal sacrifice.

The first effect of bringing the boundary of Upper Canada further down, would inevitably be the adoption of an extensive set of improvements in the navigation of the St Lawrence; for the capital and enterprise of the great city of Montreal would then coalesce with those of the western parts of the province, the inhabitants of which have already done so much, higher up, at the Welland Canal,

and Burlington Bay. Thus measures, which are now starved by the want of vigorous concert, would start into efficiency at once. Lower Canada would immediately feel the advantage of such improved intercourse, while the resources of the upper province—almost boundless—would for the first time be called into full operation. The city of Montreal, which, under any possible view, must be the great point of transit, would then reap the advantages of both. Thus all the parties concerned would be benefited, and those cordial bonds of profitable union be drawn round the two colonies, which it is so obviously the interest of the mother country to tighten.

This I take to be orthodox colonial policy on our part, whether a formal political union of the provinces be contemplated or not. For it seems to be the course which is most for the good of those countries; and if this be so, it ought to be the first object of the statesmen at home to bring it about; for the real interest of the parent state will certainly follow, sooner or later, every such exercise of good faith, uncontaminated by national selfishness.

While treating of the communications between Lower and Upper Canada, I ought to mention, that other means besides those above alluded to are already in active progress for obviating the difficulties of the ascent from the level of the sea to

that of Lake Ontario. A canal is nearly completed from Kingston, the great naval and military station at the east end of Lake Ontario, to the Ottawa River, which joins the St Lawrence a few miles above Montreal. This important military work, undertaken at the expense of the British government, is intended especially for the transport of troops and military stores at all times, but will be more particularly useful during any future contest with the United States. In order to prevent the possibility of our communications between Lower and Upper Canada being interfered with in time of war, it has been considered right to carry this canal across a part of the country removed to a considerable distance back from the frontier; and so situated, in other respects, that no probable incursion of the enemy could destroy it, or even interrupt the passage of boats.

The Rideau Canal, as this extensive work is called, is formed almost entirely of a string of lakes joining one another; so that in its whole length, which is 133 miles, there are not above 20 of regular canal work. The rest is accomplished by lakes, by locks, and by a series of dams thrown across the valleys, which, by confining the water, produce artificial reservoirs, many miles in length, on which steam-boats can navigate without injury to the banks.

This military canal will require a considerable sum of money; but probably there never was any expense better bestowed. For the cost of transporting ordnance and other stores by the direct route of the St Lawrence, up the rapids, is so enormous, that the saving of a few years on this item alone will repay the whole outlay. The essential advantage, however, and one which, in my opinion, we cannot relinquish without risk of national dishonour, is the perfect security it affords of being able to send troops and stores backwards and forwards, in the event of hostilities, with that rapidity which constitutes the chief desideratum in defensive warfare. It must be remembered that we are pledged in a thousand ways to assist the Canadians in defending their country; and, as long as they perform their part of the international contract, we are bound to shrink from no means of rendering them secure. But without the completion of the Rideau Canal, our fellow-countrymen the Canadians can feel none of that security which our superior means enable us to give them. Any hesitation, therefore, on our part, at this stage of the business, will load us with the responsibility of future disasters. Our present duty is most clear—and though its execution be somewhat costly, its imperative character is not altered on that account. There can be no doubt as to what we ought to do,

were a war to break out to-morrow. But a moment's reflection will show, that the obligation is equally binding upon us in advance, as it will be in that contingency.

Were a ship canal cut along the banks of the St Lawrence, in the manner first described, round the rapids which impede the navigation of that river, and no other work constructed, such as that of the Rideau Canal, farther from the frontier, the objects contemplated by the government would be very partially, if at all, answered. In peace, no doubt, there would be a great saving in the transport of stores from the lower to the upper province. But, in the event of a war with our neighbours in the south, it is quite obvious that this communication would stand a great chance of being cut off by sudden incursions, against which it would be next to impossible to guard so long a line of canal, lying on the very bank of the river. To establish this point, it is only necessary to mention, that there are between forty and fifty places where the channel for the boats on the Canada shore is within point blank cannon shot of the American frontier. Another means of communication, therefore, farther back, is absolutely indispensable.

The difficulty, however, of defending Canada, in the event of a war, it cannot be denied, and ought not to be concealed, will be much increased

by every thing which tends to improve the means of travelling along a frontier lying actually under the guns of the supposed hostile nation. As far, therefore, as mere defence goes, it would be better, if it were possible, to render the left bank of the St Lawrence an impervious wilderness, and to augment the difficulties of the rapids, instead of clearing them away. The more, in short, the river St Lawrence is made a high road, the greater will be the difficulty of defending the two Canadas during a war with the United States.

The Rideau Canal, it will be observed, purposely takes such a round-about course, that there is little chance of its being used for commercial purposes in peace, though in war it would become the great channel of intercourse. The capitalists of Upper Canada and of Montreal, if that city shall be annexed to it, will therefore, I have little doubt, be still desirous of constructing a ship canal, by which they may sail directly up and down the St Lawrence. They will hardly take into account the chances of a war with the United States; or, if they do, it will only quicken their loyalty, and bind them closer to us, by giving them something more valuable to defend, and rendering our alliance and hearty co-operation more essential to them.

How far his Majesty's government can be ex-

pected to countenance a project, which military men are agreed in supposing will materially increase the difficulty of defending the provinces, I cannot pretend to say.

For my own part, however, after much reflection on the relative condition of the United States, the Canadas, and England, and upon all these arguments, I can see no reason why these two canals, one for commercial, the other for military purposes, should not go on and prosper together. I am confident that, in any possible contingency, the Canadians, whose hearts are now truly with us, and may easily be kept so, will be found equal, with a little of our assistance, to maintain their noble country untouched by any invader.

But whatever becomes of the St Lawrence Canal—which is a minor consideration—the military communication between the upper and lower provinces by the Rideau Canal must—if we regard our national honour—on no account be abandoned, cost what it may. And I have only to add, that if it had been executed before the late contest with America, it is matter of demonstration that millions of public money would have been saved. Still farther, it may be suggested, if we do not take warning by past risks, we may, in a future war, chance to lose something else, which, if once let slip, no millions can replace.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the 12th of July, 1827, I made an excursion on horseback from the neighbourhood of Niagara, to the mouth of the Grand River, which runs into Lake Erie at its north-eastern corner, and is interesting from being the point selected for a harbour at the south end of the Welland canal. I accompanied two gentlemen who, fortunately for me, were well acquainted with the country; and there would probably have been nothing wanting to complete our enjoyment, had we not omitted to carry with us the finest specimen of a cold roast turkey I ever saw, expressly formed, one would have thought, for such a pic-nic party as ours. What on earth prevented us from dismembering this chief of birds, and stuffing one leg into one pocket, and one into the other, I don't know. Had I been consulted, I should have had no scruple in taking upon me Æsop's share of the luggage, and slinging the whole animal over my shoulders. People may

smile at my naming a roast turkey in the same page with Niagara; but I can tell them that in the woods of Canada such things are not to be trifled with, even within sight, as we were, of the clouds of spray which rest for ever above the cataract.

We drove in a carriage for the first ten or twelve miles, and then mounting our horses, dashed through the woods in a southerly direction towards Lake Erie. Here and there we came to farms cut out of the wilderness, as stones are hewn out of quarries, insignificant indentures apparently into the boundless forest, but the inevitable forerunners of extensive, and real improvements in a country favoured by so many sources of wealth—a good climate, a good government, and a fertile soil. These patches were sometimes pleasing and sometimes the reverse; and, like most things, in a great measure dependent upon the frame of the observer's mind at the moment. At one time we rejoiced to see a smiling cultivated farm, cottages, and people, taking the place of the old, unseen, useless tenants of the woods and wilds, the Indian and the buffalo. At another moment we were made melancholy by observing the merciless, wanton sort of way in which whole districts have been stripped of the most beautiful oaks, weeping elms, and pines, fit

masts for some great admiral, to make room for potato-fields, pig-sties, and log-huts.

It was a relief, at all events, to get into the open air again, and we cantered merrily along the sandy beach of Lake Erie, the colour of whose waters was green, not blue like those of Lake Ontario, which, in this respect, exactly resembles the great ocean. The waves curled and broke, however, on the shore very like those of the sea; though I missed the rich aromatic perfume so grateful to a sailor's senses, which rises from the salt surf weeds, and sometimes from those shrubs and grasses peculiar to the coast.

We rode eighteen miles along the shore, sometimes actually touching the water, and at other places, striking inland a little. Upon one of these occasions we came to an extensive district of country, which had been inundated apparently for several years. The consequence was, that all vegetable things, trees, underwood, and grass, were killed outright, the whole scene being left in the most deplorable state of desolation. Many trees appeared to have had their tops blown off in the progress of decay, and upon the summits of the stumps some politic eagles had built nests, which looked not unlike great wigs placed on the top of May poles. In many of these we could see the heads of certain young eagles peeping over the edge, and

high above all, the ugly, bald-pated, old birds, soaring away in grand style.

The reminiscences of the cold turkey, now began to interfere grievously with the interest of the scenery; and, like sailors cast adrift in a boat, we made distant allusions to the subject with anxious forebodings of future abstinence. "I wish much," I said, "that we could see any thing like an inn ahead there amongst those trees." My companions who were older travellers in Canada, smiled at my simplicity, and bade me be of good cheer, since we could not possibly get a morsel of food till we reached the Grand River, still many leagues from us. But, fortunately, they were out in their reckoning; for, just as we turned the corner of a projecting point of land, and felt the cool south-west sea breeze, as it might be called, in our faces, we beheld the glorious vision of a sign-post, infinitely more pleasing to our eyes than any Raphael or Rembrandt could possibly have been.

The door was open, but the cottage was empty, and as no signs of food or fire were to be discovered, our hearts sunk within us. But hope soon met our eyes in the shape of a comely young woman, who spoke delightful things of bacon and eggs, displayed a loaf of bread, and half promised us one of the old hens which we saw chuckling about the doors, unconscious of her fate. It

was no easy matter to strike a light; and I don't know how we should have got on, had it not been for the assistance of an Irish lad who joined us at this moment, and thrusting his nose into the ashes, declared there was a spark. This was speedily exalted into a goodly blaze, and while the lady proceeded to put her sentence of death into execution against the poultry, she good-naturedly allowed us to get the tea-kettle under weigh, and made no objections to our rummaging the closet for cups and saucers. She laughed repeatedly at our awkwardness; and quizzed me in particular unmercifully for making the fire at a part of the hearth beyond the reach of the iron crane upon which the tea-kettle was to hang. I raised myself, however, several degrees in her estimation, by bringing a little nautical science to bear upon this matter. With a couple of sticks, planted on the side of the chimney, I got up a sort of outrigger or prop, which being applied to the suspending chain, bulged it out, and thus guided the tea-kettle to its proper birth over the flames.

Our nags, in the meantime, in imitation of their riders, had been feasting upon a great arm-full of new hay, brought by the kind farmer himself, who, upon detecting us from afar, had hurried home to assist us. So that when we remounted and again attacked the road, every thing appear-

ed to have acquired a fresher relish. All fatigue was gone, bodily and mental. The lake, the banks, the grouping of the trees, were all more beautiful than before; and so far from the ride seeming long, we dropped into the quiet little naval establishment at the mouth of the Grand River—our ultimate object—long before it appeared that we had come nearly to the journey's end.

The flag-staff was struck, the works gone to decay, the store-houses nearly empty. Every thing we saw, in short, bespoke the stillness and neglect of peace, as contradistinguished from the rattling activity of iron war.

A small military party were stationed here, under the command of an officer, whose unhappiness at this moment interested our feelings not a little. All things, it is said, are judged of by comparison; but surely it required some elasticity in the imagination to understand how such a wretched abode as the Grand River station could be deemed a desirable residence. Yet so it seemed to this worthy officer, and his poor family, who were in great distress at the necessity of leaving it.

In the meantime, he showed us to his log-house, not a dozen feet high, half buried in the sand, within twenty paces of a stagnant marsh, and blessed with not more than ten yards of prospect in any direction, besides being placed in a sort of eddy

or cove, which tempted whole armies of industrious mosquitoes to carry on their operations against himself, his wife, and his six children. To compensate for this superabundance of company of one description, he told us, what indeed was sufficiently apparent, that his society in all other respects was very limited; but as this removed the necessity of incurring inconvenient expenses, and as he had begun to draw sundry little comforts about him, and the whole party possessed cheerful dispositions, the loneliness of the situation was scarcely felt.

Some months previous to our visit, a party of soldiers had been ordered from Quebec to this remote station, and our friend, who considered himself fortunate in getting the appointment, set off accordingly with his family, in high spirits. The proverbial miseries of a protracted voyage across Lake Ontario, in a badly found sloop, and the ten times more harassing journey through the forest, were submitted to with patience. Not far from the Grand River, the party were benighted, and such was the jolting of the carriage over the Corduroy roads, that to save the little life of one of their children, only three weeks old, it was lifted out of the carriage and carried in one of the men's arms in the dark, through the woods, though at every third step the honest soldier-nurse plunged up to his

knees in the mud; while the poor urchin was unconsciously augmenting the miseries of the night by crying with cold and hunger. At length the dreary journey was at an end, and all its miseries were soon forgotten in the joy of getting fairly established in a home of some kind, suited to their means, and rendered doubly advantageous from being, as they thought, permanent. The arrival of the baggage waggons brought fresh cares in the shape of a miserable account of broken crockery—an irreparable misfortune in the back woods! But, as I said before, they were far too happy to feel themselves fixed at last, to worry one another with unavailing complaints, but turned about cheerfully to make the most of their situation for the next few years. On the very morning we arrived, however, counter orders reached the station; the regiment, it seems, was ordered from Canada to England, and another officer was of course appointed to supersede our afflicted host.

It is all very well to assert, that officers who marry on their pay, must take their chance of the turns of the service, and that the case I have just described is that of five hundred others. So it is. But yet, when we come in contact with the actual misery of such scenes, the evil, so far from being lessened, is aggravated by the reflections which remind us of their frequency.

To descend to the minor ills of life, I must say that, in an evil hour, we decided upon leaving the station, and crossing the river to a little inn, where we thought we should be more at ease than if we accepted the kind offer made to us by the officer in charge of the establishment, to sleep at his house. At ease, did I say!? Not in Lima—the "City of the Kings,"—which, till now, I had thought was the head-quarters of those nameless creeping things which form the misery of bad lodgings—did I ever encounter such myriads of those murderers of sleep. For half the night I lay tossing, and growling, and ejaculating, in terms not fit to be printed. I tried to remedy matters by putting on a great-coat; then drew on gloves, stockings, drawers—all to no purpose! Got up, spread a sheet on the mud floor—still in vain! At last, about midnight, it occurred to me, that as the case was evidently hopeless, it would be best to lie still, grinning and bearing the torture as well as might be. So I lay revolving all the sweet and bitter thoughts I could muster, and at times almost managed to philosophize myself into the confession that even these annoyances were trifles in comparison with the varied, and boundless sort of interest, which was rising higher and higher at every step as the journey advanced.

The dawning of the next day was hailed with

great joy by all hands, and shortly after four o'clock the whole party were up and stirring about the cottage. Our hostess, the widow of a sailor formerly on the establishment, with the neatness of habits belonging to a man-of-war, had laid out for us a capital breakfast of fish, caught during the night in a seine, or drag-net, by three or four of the soldiers of the little garrison opposite. Our table was placed in the open air, and facing the rising sun; with Lake Erie, now quite still, lying at our feet, and—I am ashamed to use such a simile—not very unlike an immense pond. The high grounds of Pennsylvania lay sleeping in the distance beyond it, and looming high in the misty air of the cool morning, a circumstance which, to experienced eyes, foretold a sultry day. The Grand River drifted slowly past, black and sluggish, as if it had been a stream of dark-coloured oil rather than of water; this tinge being imparted to it, the inhabitants informed us, by Cranborough and Wainfleet Marshes, of which extensive swamps it is the principal drain.

We set off about seven o'clock to ride through one of these treacherous, half-drowned districts—I forget which of them—and were nothing daunted, as we ought in reason to have been, by the stories of the danger, and the intolerable badness of the roads. For the first mile or two, we tripped

along pretty well, with only an occasional slough, which reminded me of the villainous pantanas, or great mud-holes, of Buenos Ayres, large enough to swallow a mail coach. As we proceeded, things got worse and worse, till at last it seemed as if we were in a very fair way to imitate the fate of the Master of Ravenswood, by stabling our steeds in the bottomless pit of some Kelpie's Flow.

At this critical stage of our progress, when, I suspect, we only wanted a good excuse for turning back, but were deterred from saying so, by the mere fact of its being hazardous to advance, we observed a portly-looking horseman approaching us from the Marsh. In reply to our interrogatories, as to the state of the roads farther on, he shook his head, and assured us they were much worse than any we had yet seen.

"The truth is," added he—chuckling at his own prowess—"I had myself some considerable distance to ride through a place where it was so deep, that the water came far above my knees."

On hearing this assertion, our eyes naturally glanced, incredulously, to his nether garments, which were perfectly sleek, clean, and dry.

"Oh," cried he, guessing our thoughts, and smacking his thigh with his hand, "I was obliged to take off these articles,"—naming them—"and

by hanging them over my shoulders, I did very well, as you perceive."

We did perceive it well enough; but the image of our fat friend struggling through the bog, with two thirds of his legs immersed in mud, and his inexpressibles hoisted over his shoulders, like the flag of a ship in distress, union downwards, was quite signal enough for us; and, after laughing heartily, first at him, and then with him, we tacked ship in his company.

We now retraced our floundering steps; and having reached firm footing once more, cantered along the beach of the lake for twenty-four miles, struck again into the depths of the forest, in a direction which carried us to the eastward of the above mentioned marshes, and eventually, after a long day's ride—long at least for a sailor—brought us to the banks of the Chippewa, or Welland River. By following the course of this languid stream for five miles, we reached the important eminence known by the name of the Short Hills, which rises nearly in the centre of the peninsula of Niagara.

From this elevated spot, which is distant about twelve miles from the American frontier, a full view is commanded both of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; as well as of all the intermediate country, both American and Canadian, adjacent to the Falls. It is proposed to erect upon these heights an extensive and

powerful fortress, in place of the half dozen petty batteries or forts heretofore maintained along the Niagara line. To this secure military station, not only the regular troops in the country might be drawn in time of war, but the provincial militia would naturally flock to it as a rallying point, certain of protection, and confident also that their services would be turned to good account, under competent direction, and veteran companionship, in the event of any threatened invasion. In times past, from want of some impregnable position of this kind, the resources of the upper province were scattered and wasted, instead of being condensed round a common centre of action. While at the same time, the insignificant nature of the old defences, above alluded to, erected on the very edge of the frontier, only tempted the enemy to attack them; and this led in its turn, naturally enough, to hostile inroads and other retaliations, which ended in nothing but misery and irritation to both parties, without advancing any military or national object one jot.

It may be said, indeed, that on a frontier so extensive as that of Niagara, the enemy, in the event of a war, would be able to enter Canada, to pass the projected fortress at the Short Hills, and to lay waste the country round about and beyond it, with impunity. But I am told by military men that

such an object could not be accomplished without a large force, deliberately prepared for the purpose, under circumstances that could not fail to be known, and easily counteracted. The garrison of the fort in question, would have ready means of harassing them, and of intercepting their march with a much inferior force of regulars, provided, as may be safely reckoned upon, the provincial militia were mustered in any considerable numbers, under the guns of such a work as it is proposed to erect.

I write upon this subject with some confidence, because I had means of satisfying myself that a more loyal or determined people never existed than the Canadian settlers, or men more thoroughly resolved to guard the blessings they enjoy. All they require, as I conceive, is to be treated by the mother country in a manner which shall imply, on our part, a thorough conviction of their hearty goodwill towards us. As one step towards this end, and perhaps the most important step of all, I conceive that this fortification, and one or two others, ought to be erected forthwith; to show the Canadians, as well as their neighbours, that we are in earnest in our determination to maintain the integrity of the colonies; and likewise, that we place full confidence in their national good faith as loyal Eng-

lishmen,—to all intents and purposes, as if Canada were no further from us than Cornwall.

It is often said, and perhaps truly, that it is contrary to the genius of the American government, to acquire territory by open warfare. But still, the proximity of the Canadas—the fertile nature of their soil—the excellence of their climate—the comparatively unoccupied nature of the land—are all motives, and very legitimate ones, it must be allowed, to stimulate the inhabitants of the United States to such a conquest, independently of the obvious and perfectly fair object of injuring her enemy, supposing us to be, unhappily, again at war.

Nevertheless, as long as the present form of government exists in America, there cannot possibly be an efficient standing army in that country in peace—the only security for vigorous exertions in war; and even supposing their militia could be induced to cross the frontier to invade the British provinces, which experience shows cannot be easily accomplished, still, if the Canadians be but hearty in their own cause, they will always, even single-handed, be more than a match for their invading antagonists. Nor is this said slightingly of the opposite party, by any means; for a similar observation, I conceive, would hold good, if the invasion

were to take the opposite course, and the United States were to be attacked by the Canadians.

If, then, a due degree of hearty and mutual confidence be established between the Canadas and England—for to be worth a straw it must be mutual—and, here and there, we put forward conspicuously, such indisputable symptoms of our sincerity as the proposed military work at the Short Hills near Niagara, similar to the splendid citadel already executed at Quebec, these colonies will be as secure from foreign conquest, and, by judicious management on their part and on ours, be made, permanently, as substantially British, as the Isle of Wight.

CHAPTER IX.

On the 16th of July, 1827, after a couple of days of rest, which were quite necessary for me after two such long rides, Mrs Hall and I set off on a short excursion, as we thought, towards Burlington Bay, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario. As all accounts agreed in stating the roads to be very bad, and as our intention was to be absent only a couple of days, we accepted the offer of some kind friends in the neighbourhood of the Falls to take charge of our child;—and it was well we did so, as the result will show.

The interest of the trip increased so much as we proceeded onwards, the weather was so beautiful, and we found ourselves in scenes so entirely new, that instead of a mere jaunt of eight and forty hours, we fairly made out the whole distance, through the woods, from Niagara to Kingston, which lie at opposite ends of Lake Ontario. The whole distance, including two excursions to the

interior, was 463 miles. One journey by land, of this extent, however, in that country, was quite enough, and we gladly availed ourselves of the steam-boat to return to the Falls, after eleven days and a half of as rough travelling—I will answer for it—as any lady and gentleman were ever exposed to—from choice.

During the first day's march, on the 16th of July, we encountered nothing remarkable, unless some fine scenery be so considered. It may, perhaps, sound very heterodox, but I know few things more fatiguing, for a continuance, than fine scenery; and I suspect most people, after passing three or four weeks in Switzerland, if they dared own it, would say they were right glad to escape into Italy, or even into France. At all events, we had not much fatigue of this kind to complain of in any part of America; for, take it all in all, a more unpicturesque country is hardly to be found any where.

On the next day, the 17th of July, we visited an object well worthy of attention,—a natural dam, or breakwater, which lies, as I have mentioned, across the mouth of Burlington Bay, at the extreme western end of Lake Ontario. This very singular embankment is six miles long, nearly straight, and rises about 12 or 15 feet above the level of the lake. It varies from 40 to

100 yards in width, is formed entirely of sand, and covered with oaks. This grand pier, or spit, or key, is called The Beach, and is altogether the most extraordinary thing of the kind I ever saw. Within it lies a large harbour, five or six miles across, and carrying 15 fathoms water in the middle.

This barrier has, I conceive, been thrown up by the waves of Lake Ontario during the hard easterly gales, at which times, I am told, the water is raised many feet higher at the western end of the lake, and proportionably lowered at the eastern extremity. I know by experience, that when it blows hard, a short, high sea gets up in a moment, on these lakes, very unpleasant for ships. Heretofore Burlington Bay has been locked up by this great natural boom; but a canal has lately been cut through it nearly at the centre, the sides of which are formed of a number of cribs or wooden frames, loaded with stones and sunk to the bottom, by which the wearing away of the sand by the flux and reflux of the water, which is at times very rapid, is prevented, and the passage kept open. The entrance is still further secured from injury by two piers, formed in like manner of loaded cribs; one of these piers is 900 feet long, the other 800. The utility of this spirited work has already begun to be felt and acknowledged in the surrounding country; and the whole scene furnishes

not a bad specimen of the scale in which natural objects are found in the new world.

In the course of the next day, we made an acquaintance with the chief of an Indian tribe. But our friend, if he will permit us to call him so, was any thing but what the imagination paints to itself of such a character. In his speech, dress, manners, and conduct, as well as in his opinions, and also in his tastes and habits, he is quite an Englishman. He is the owner of a landed property which he lives upon and cultivates: but how far he keeps up any relations with the tribe to which he belongs by birth, I do not exactly know. I should conceive, however, that a person so circumstanced, who has travelled in England and other countries, and who certainly has capacity enough to profit by what he has observed, might be the means of doing much good to a race of whom it is impossible to think without a melancholy, because almost a hopeless interest.

For want of a better conveyance, we were obliged to travel in a vehicle dignified by the name of a waggon, but which in fact was neither more nor less than a good, honest, rattling, open cart; for though we enjoyed the honour and glory of four wheels, the elasticity of the supporting wooden bars of a convenient enough seat in the middle, was a sorry substitute for springs.

Just at sunset, when we were half-way between two stages, one of the axletrees gave way, and down we came on our broadside. A dwelling was near at hand, but upon trying the doors, they were found all locked, and no symptoms of life were to be seen or heard except dogs, pigs, and cows. The driver was at a loss, till I advised him to set off with his horse in quest of another cart or waggon;—and there we were left, in the middle of a Canadian forest, at nightfall, surrounded by swamps sonorous with innumerable bull-frogs, and by an atmosphere clogged with noxious vapours, and clouded with mosquitoes.

We had been quizzing the four-wheeled travelling waggon a little while before, and complaining of the roughness of the wooden springs; but we were right glad, after an hour's delay, to find ourselves once again in motion, though in a still less magnificent conveyance—literally a common two-wheeled farm cart, with nothing but a bunch of straw to break the violence of the jolts, which sent the rattling sound of our equipage, in dreary echoes, far into the unexplored recesses of those dismal swamps.

Next morning at six o'clock, we left our night's quarters, which we did not reach till ten the evening before, and breakfasted at a neat clean sort of country inn. The morning was cool and clear;

and though the sun shone out, it was not disagreeable, being merely bright enough to give lustre and cheerfulness to the landscape. When people are in good spirits, every thing appears to smile.

On our way to York, the capital of Upper Canada, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, we made a turn off the road, to visit a village recently erected on the banks of the river Credit, and inhabited by the tribe of Mississaguas.

Till within the last three or four years, these Indians were known in that part of Canada as the most profligate, drunken, and it was supposed, irreclaimable of savages. Such, indeed, was their state of wretchedness, that the total and speedy extinction of the whole tribe seemed inevitable. All this was attributed to other causes than poverty; for the annual distribution of goods to the tribe, either as a bounty from th crown, or as a consideration for lands which they had ceded, was most ample; whilst their neighbourhood to populous settlements insured them a ready market for their game or fish, if they had been industriously disposed. They owned also a fine tract of land, reserved for their exclusive use. But it seems they were lost in a state of continual intoxication, brought on by drinking the vilest kind of spirits, obtained by bartering the clothes and other

articles annually served out to them by government.

Such a state of things, of course, attracted much attention, and many plans were suggested for ameliorating their condition; but none succeeded in reclaiming these miserable objects, till, about three or four years ago, Sir Peregrine Maitland, then governor of Upper Canada, conceived the idea of domesticating these Indians on the banks of the river Credit. The ground, accordingly, was soon cleared, commodious houses were built, and implements of husbandry, clothes, and other things, given to the new settlers. These wretched people were induced to take this step, chiefly by the influence of a missionary of the name of Jones, whose mother was a Mississagua, and his father a white man. Jones, it appears, had fallen in with some persons of the Methodist persuasion, who, with the zeal and sagacity by which they are so much distinguished, had imparted to him not only strong religious feelings, but had taught him to see how usefully he might be employed in reclaiming his Indian brethren from the degradation into which they had fallen. It happened, fortunately, that just at the moment, owing to some circumstances which I forget, he had acquired a considerable degree of influence amongst the tribe in question; and his own virtuous efforts being opportunely

seconded by the government, the result, so far as we could judge, was wonderful.

From living more like hogs than men, these Mississaguas had acquired, when we saw them, many domestic habits. They had all neat houses, made use of beds, tables, and chairs, and were perfectly clean in their persons, instead of being plastered over with paint and grease. They were, also, tolerably well dressed, and were described as being industrious, orderly, and, above all, sober. Most of the children, and a few of the older Indians, could read English; facts which we ascertained by visiting their school; and I have seldom seen any thing more curious. The whole tribe profess Christianity, attend divine service regularly, and, what is still more to the purpose, their conduct is said to be in character with their profession. Instead of hunting and fishing for a precarious livelihood, they now cultivate the ground; and in place of galloping off to the whisky shop with their earnings, lay them up to purchase comforts, and to educate and clothe their children. Such at least were the accounts given to us.

We examined the village minutely, and had some conversation with the schoolmaster, a brother of Mr Jones, the person to whose exertions so much of the success of this experiment is due. The number of Indians at the Credit village is only

215; but the great point gained, is the fact of reformation being possible. The same feelings and disposition to improve are extending rapidly, I am told, amongst the other tribes connected with the Mississaguas, and chiefly amongst the Chippewas of Lake Simcoe, and those of the Rice Lake.

I had frequent opportunities afterwards, during the journey, of conversing with persons well acquainted with the Indians of North America, and I was sorry to observe, that faint hopes were entertained as to any permanent improvement being possible in the condition of these poor people. When I described what I had seen at this village, the persons I spoke to could not deny, they said, that by the care of government, and especially of disinterested and zealous people, willing to take personal trouble in teaching them the arts of civil life, they may be brought, apparently, to a considerable state of civilisation; but that, sooner or later, they are always found to relapse, when the hand that guides them is withdrawn.

I confess I am unwilling to adopt so discouraging a notion; and I still think, after all I have seen and heard, that, by some means or other, the Indians might be reclaimed. This, however, can be accomplished, as I conceive, only by allowing them to mingle with the whites, to possess individual property, as well as political rights,

and thence they might come in time, to understand the practical value of religious and moral duties; obligations which are manifestly useless to such people, or to any people, when preached merely in the abstract.

On taking leave of the Mississaguas, instead of returning to the direct road, we chose to follow the course of the Credit till it fell into Lake Ontario; after which we put our heads to the eastward, and continued along the shore nearly to York. This road being formed of the trunks of trees laid crosswise, without any coating of earth or stones, was more abominably jolty than any thing a European imagination can conceive. Over these horrible wooden causeways, technically called Corduroy roads, it would be misery to travel in any description of carriage; but in a waggon or cart with nothing but wooden springs, it is most trying to every joint in one's body. A bear-skin, it is true, is generally laid on the seat; but this slips down, or slips up—in short—somehow or other, the poor voyager's bones pay for all, notwithstanding the tender mercies of the bear!

The recollection of such annoyances, however, were they twenty times greater, would vanish beneath the renewed touch of agreeable society. On reaching York, the seat of Government of Upper Canada, some of our own countrymen whom we

had never seen before, received us as if we had been their dearest friends, and made us so heartily welcome, that we had a good opportunity of tasting one of the truest pleasures of travelling.

There is, no doubt, a bright charm in the renewal of old friendships; but at the same time, on a long journey, in a distant foreign land, there is a fine sparkling sort of freshness in the active hospitality of such new acquaintances, of whom all that we know is from what we see, and as that is full of kindness to us, and of anxiety to supply our wants, there is a fairy-tale kind of animation cast over incidents, which, if enacted in the tranquil life of home, would probably possess little or no romantic character.

Our dinner was laid under the fly of a tent, on the rich green-sward of a dressed piece of ground, sloping gently towards the lake. We sat on the eastern side of the house, so that by five o'clock the shadow fell upon us. The deep sea-blue surface of old Ontario was now quite smooth; for the morning breeze had fallen, except where a few straggling catspaws, as we call them, here and there, breathed on the face of the calm mirror, and straightway disappeared. The harbour, or, more properly speaking, the bay, of York, formerly called Toronto,—a name which it was a sin to change,—is formed by a long spit, or low projecting point

of wooded land, with a light-house at the end of it, round which one or two schooners were slipping with the last faint puffs of the sea-breeze, just enough to fill their upper sails, but without rippling the water. The air had become deliciously cool, and more grateful than I can describe, after the sultry day to which we had been exposed. The wine was plunged into a large vessel filled with ice, close to the table; but the water was cooled in a goglet, or unbaked earthen pitcher, brought from Bengal; the sight of which, with drops like dew oozing from its sides, carried my thoughts far back to times when, with friends now all gone, or scattered never to meet more, I first learned the luxuries of a hot climate.

On the 19th of July, instead of proceeding, as we had intended, straight along the great road to the eastward, we made a sharp turn to the left, and travelled for some thirty miles directly north towards Lake Simcoe, one of those numerous sheets of water with which Upper Canada is covered; and destined, no doubt, in after times, to afford the means of much valuable intercourse from place to place, when their banks are peopled and cultivated. Our present object, however, was to witness the annual distribution of presents, as they are called, made by government to the Indians; the regular payment, in short, of the annuities, in considera-

tion of which, the Indians have agreed to relinquish their title to lands in certain parts of the country.

We remained for the night at the village of New-Market, the nearest point to Holland's Landing, the spot where the Indians were encamped. Here we found ourselves most kindly taken care of by some friends, who, although they had never been out of Canada, had learnt to value and to appropriate the comforts of countries further advanced in those refinements which, although they depend upon mere taste, certainly add essentially to the happiness of life—despise them, or affect to despise them, who may.

Our host was living in a most agreeable house, surrounded by a large flower garden, intersected in all directions by well-shaded gravel and turf walks. In one of the rooms stood a piano-forte, and plenty of comfortable and handsome furniture, chiefly of the bird's eye maple. From this apartment a single step placed us in a verandah, as wide as the room itself, bounded in front and at both ends by trellis work, so thickly twined with hop vines, that the sun, and that still more troublesome intruder, the blazing glare of a red hot sky, had no chance for admission, while the breeze from the garden easily made its way, perfumed and tempered like the sultry winds of Hindustan after pass-

ing through those ingenious artificial mattings, called Tatties, formed of sweet scented grass, and suspended, dripping wet, before the doors and windows, during the heat of the day, in the hotter parts of India.

I may here take occasion to remark, when treating of these customs and other refinements, that in every part of Canada we found the inhabitants speaking English, and acting and looking like Englishmen, without any discernible difference. The dress of the people, also, was not such as to excite notice by its difference from that worn in London; and, generally speaking, there was nothing sufficiently prominent either in their manners or appearance to distinguish them from persons similarly circumstanced in the mother country. In the United States, on the contrary, as I have before hinted, the language, the thoughts, and even the tone of voice, as well as the general appearance, are too obviously foreign and peculiar to the country, to escape notice. I do not pretend to say which of the two is the best,—that is a matter of mere taste, about which it were idle to dispute,—I merely state the fact, as it certainly affords the grounds of some remarkable distinctions between these adjacent countries, generally, but erroneously, thought to bear considerable resemblance.

The scene at Holland's Landing was amusing

enough, for there were collected about three hundred Indians, with their squaws and papooses, as the women and children are called. Some of the party were encamped under the brushwood, in birch-bark wigwams, or huts; but the greater number, having paddled down Lake Simcoe in the morning, had merely drawn up their canoes on the grass, ready to start again as soon as the ceremonies of the day were over. The Indian agent seemed to have hard work to arrange the party to his mind; but at length the men and women were placed in separate lines, while the children lay sprawling and bawling in the middle. Many of the males, as well as females, wore enormous ear-rings, some of which I found, upon admeasurement, to be six inches in length; and others carried round their necks silver ornaments, from the size of a watch, to that of a soup-plate. Sundry damsels, I suppose at the top of the fashion, had strung over them more than a dozen of necklaces of variously stained glass beads. One man, I observed, was ornamented with a set of bones, described to me as the celebrated wampum, of which every one has heard; and this personage, with four or five others, and a few of the women, were wired in the nose like pigs, with rings which dangled against their lips. Such of the papooses as were not old enough to run about and take care of themselves, were strap-

ped up in boxes, with nothing exposed but their heads and toes, so that when the mothers were too busy to attend to their offspring, the little animals might be hooked up out of the way, upon the nearest branch of a tree, or placed against a wall, like a hat or a pair of boots, and left there to squall away to their heart's content.

On the 21st of July we left York, after a good deal of trouble in getting a conveyance, owing to most of the carriages and horses being engaged at the sort of fair we had just returned from. This delay would have mattered little, had we not been apprehensive of being caught by the night, on roads of which the accounts were not the most flattering. At first we laughed at these apprehensions, from supposing that the previous journey, between the Credit River and York, had broken us in for any high-ways or by-ways we were likely to encounter again. In process of travelling, however, as the daylight faded, our hopes subsided. The cleared and airy country was exchanged for close, choky woods; the horrible Corduroy roads again made their appearance in a more formidable shape, by the addition of deep, inky holes, which almost swallowed up the fore wheels of the waggon, and bathed its hinder axletree. The jogging and plunging to which we were now exposed, and the occasional bang when the vehicle reached the bottom

of one of these abysses, were so new and remarkable in the history of our travels, that we tried to make a good joke of them, and felt rather amused than otherwise on discovering, by actual experiment, what ground might, upon a pinch, as it is called, be travelled over.

Illustrations, it is well known, generally mystify the subject, instead of clearing it up; so I shall not compare this evening's drive to trotting up or down a pair of stairs, for, in that case, there would be some kind of regularity in the developement of the bumps; but with us there was no warning—no pause; and when we least expected a jolt, down we went smack! dash! crash! forging, like a ship in a head-sea, right into a hole half a yard deep. At other times, when an ominous break in the road seemed to indicate the coming mischief, and we clung, grinning like grim death, to the railing at the sides of the waggon, expecting a concussion which, in the next instant, was to dislocate half the joints in our bodies, down we sank into a bed of mud, as softly as if the bottom and sides had been padded with cotton for our express accommodation.

A little before sunset, when still six or eight miles from our sleeping place, we emerged from the forest, and found ourselves most unexpectedly in one of the prettiest little valleys of America.

A dark-coloured, sleepy-looking stream of water, called La Riviere Rouge, the drainings, probably, of some marsh, was flowing very slowly past, in tortuous bends, through a meadow which was confined by steep banks of red earth, bristled at top with underwood, out of which, a little removed from the brink, rose groups or clusters of straight-stemmed pines, as far up and down the glen as its windings would admit of our seeing.

The western part of the valley was dropping fast into shade as the sun went down, while the opposite side was still lighted up, except at two or three places where the shadows, having crossed the stream, were beginning to creep up the bank. Accordingly, as far as masses of light and shade, and variety of tints and forms went, the conditions of the picturesque were liberally supplied. But a painter, who, like a farmer, is seldom quite satisfied with the gifts of nature as they come to his hand, might possibly have wished to superadd a bridge as a feature to the landscape;—and so certainly did we, though from a cause unconnected with the fine arts. The water, we found to our dismay, was too deep to ford; and as there appeared to be no ferry-boat, we were placed in a most awkward dilemma.

On reaching the spot where a bridge once stood, but stood no longer, we observed a little boy,

paddling in a canoe not twice his own length, very busily engaged in transporting a most unwilling horse across the river. We had some interest in this matter, and watched the young captain's proceedings attentively. He first carried over the rider, with the saddle and bridle, in his nut-shell vessel; then returned to make a rope fast to the horse's head, after which he paddled himself back again to the opposite shore, where he tugged away manfully at the line, while his companion, another little urchin about ten years of age, brought up the rear, hallooing and driving the terrified steed into the flood.

I must say, I did not much admire this sort of navigation, which looked more like playing at ships than real service; but as there was no better to be had, we plucked up what courage we could muster, and trusted ourselves, one at a time, in our gallant young commodore's rickety bark, and all reached the other side in safety. The next job was to ferry the baggage over; and this effected, the horse was towed across, secundum artem, by the nose; an operation of some delicacy both to actors and spectators. Lastly, came the transportation of the waggon; and here all my seamanship served only to show the hazard incurred of losing the whole conveyance. If the rope, which was what we call at sea inch and a half line, or ratlin

stuff, but old and much worn, had given way, as I fully expected it would, when the waggon was half channel over, and nothing in sight but four or five inches of the railing above the water, we must have bivouac'd where we were, on the left bank of the Rouge, or Roosh, as it is called, which, however picturesque, was not exactly the place we should have selected for our night's quarters.

Fortunately we succeeded in dragging the carriage across, and when the fore wheels fairly touched the bank, I thought, of course, that all our difficulties were over. But the united strength of all the party, males and females, young and old, combined, could not budge it more than a foot out of the water. I don't know what we should have done, had we not spied, near the landing place, a fathom or two of chain, one end of which our active little commanding officer soon tied to the carriage, and the horse being hitched, as the Americans term it, to the other, we drew it triumphantly to land, with a cheer which made the forest ring again.

The rest of that evening's journey was, of course, made in the dark, and we reached our sleeping place fatigued to the last gasp.

Next morning, the 22d of July, we started betimes, in hopes of reaching Cobourg to dinner—alas! a vain expectation—for, though the distance was only forty-three miles, it cost us thirteen hours

of as rough travelling as ever was performed by wheeled carriage.

We had resolved to take advantage of every minute of daylight, and therefore arranged matters for travelling sixteen miles before breakfast. These sort of resolutions look beautiful at the time they are made over night, but their accomplishment presses heavily on the vigour of the traveller next morning. At least so it proved with us; for after jogging and jolting along for nine miles, in the cool, hungry air of the morning, we became, to tell the truth, very ravenous, and being anxious to disengage our minds, from any thoughts of breakfast, we set about admiring the scenery, and speculating at a great rate on the wonders and beauties of nature. At times also, by way of variety, we amused ourselves by considering the lonely position we occupied—adrift in the depths of an American forest—far from friends and home, and so forth; when suddenly, to our great astonishment, a voice was heard from the woods, calling out,

"Captain Hall! Captain Hall!"

Here was a fairy tale, indeed! but the voice was certainly that of a mortal, and one of the most friendly and opportune that ever saluted the ear.

"O!" continued the voice, "you must not pass

my cottage; you must come in and take breakfast. Driver, turn about—here's the gate."

The cottage which we now approached was a small, neat, pleasant-looking dwelling, with shrubs and flowers before it, planted with much taste. Over the door was plaited a gothic sort of arch, or canopy of green boughs, interspersed with roses, quite recently put up, as if to grace the arrival of some stranger. And so it proved; for we learnt from the young ladies, that their father, our kind host, who had been absent for some months, and returned only the day before, had been welcomed home by his friendly neighbours with such simple honours as the scene afforded—bonfires, musketry, and dancing; while his own family, not to be outdone, wattled up hastily the tasteful little awning I spoke of, and robbed their garden of all its roses to embellish it.

I now began to remember that I had met my friend, some weeks before, near the Falls, and he readily accounted for knowing who we were, by saying, that except when the snow is on the ground, travellers by land in Upper Canada are very rare; and as he knew we must be passing about this time, he had for some days been on the look-out for us.

A delicious breakfast was soon smoking on the table; but before we began, our excellent host drew

on his spectacles, opened the family Bible, and read a chapter;—after which, he prayed extempore, in the best Presbyterian style of solemnity and reverence.

When the hungry edge of appetite was taken off, we had time to look about us, and I was struck with the appearance of a piano-forte, which occupied one end of the little apartment, and with a book-case filled with finely bound works; these things, together with some pictures, and other minor ornaments, more than usual in such a place, seemed to tell of former prosperity in busier scenes. But we asked no questions—took the good that was given us—interchanged many kind wishes for the future—and parted—probably never to meet, or to hear of one another, again.

The whole looked like a dream, when we found ourselves once more on the road, in one of the most beautiful sunny mornings I ever beheld.

We had not proceeded many miles before we came to an open space of level ground, covered sparingly with young trees, but with little or no forest, properly so called, visible in any direction,—though from what caprice of nature this change in the scenery had occurred, I know not. In the scanty shade of some birches, on our right hand, we observed a party in a waggon, all dressed in their Sunday's finery, and near them four or

five other groups, just alighted, engaged in detaching their horses, arranging their clothes, and otherwise adjusting their looks, as if preparatory to some ceremony. At first we fancied this was a junketing party, but were soon undeceived by hearing the distant, long-drawn sound of a psalm tune floating amongst the trees—and we now discovered that the population of the surrounding country had assembled for a camp, or field preaching.

We immediately dismounted, and struck into the grove from whence these sounds issued, the way being pointed out by dismantled travelling waggons, gigs, and saddle horses, tied to the trees. Presently we came to parties of women and children, scattered about here and there on the grass; and at last we reached the Forest Temple itself. The spot had been selected from its affording a natural amphitheatre, where a casual opening of about twenty yards in diameter had been left, as if on purpose, amongst the birch and beech trees, which, though young, were tall and leafy, and, by their branches nearly meeting over head, had formed a screen, close enough to exclude all glare and heat. The neighbouring ground, however, was thickly spangled with patches of sunlight in every direction, as far as the eye could penetrate. Similar touches of gold on many of the stems, and on the still leaves—for it was a dead calm, and the air

hazy and glowing with heat—gave, when viewed through the shade, a rich, quiet tone to the whole scene, very suitable, I thought, to the occasion.

The pulpit consisted of a rude platform, supported, at the height of about ten feet, by the trunks of three or four trees, which happened to be standing in so convenient a position, that not a single branch appeared to have been lopped off. The preacher, a tall, sallow, anxious-looking man, of the Methodist persuasion, as we were informed, was dressed in a loose surtout coat of a purple colour, with a yellow silk handkerchief tied round his head. In this respect, therefore, it may be thought, he was not a very clerical-looking figure; but there was no want of solemnity in essentials, either in appearance or in manner, or, what was of more consequence, in the matter of his discourse. Three other persons were seated on the platform near the preacher, who alone was standing. The congregation, to the number of two hundred, were ranged in lines of about twenty in each, on seats, formed of stones, or logs of wood; the women on one hand, and the men on the other; while the outskirts, as I before mentioned, were occupied by women, and such children as were too young to be edified by the service, or too noisy and untractable to be admitted into the circle. I observed also several straggling parties of visitors, like ourselves, who appear-

ed not to belong to the regular congregation, and did not intrude within the circumference of this silvan cathedral.

We were too late to hear the psalm close at hand; but perhaps the effect was better, coming we hardly knew from whence. The sermon, however, which we did hear, was simple in its expression, unaffected in delivery, and though not remarkable in any respect, fell on the ears of a most attentive audience.

In those wild regions, where no towns, and not many villages, are yet to be found, places of regular worship are necessarily few and far between, and these itinerant preachers, in spite of some occasional extravagances, must, upon the whole, do good. It seems somewhat indiscreet, therefore, to say the least of it, to hold such meetings, as a matter of course, in derision. At all events, so it struck us this morning—and we left the simple church in the wilderness with feelings of the truest respect for all the parties concerned.

It is in vain—and in truth it would be useless—to deny, that the associations of place, and the pomp of circumstance, do help these feelings in a considerable degree—

> "But even the faintest relics of a shrine
> Of any worship wake some thoughts divine;"

and I am sure that a person who could have wit-

nessed such a scene as this, and not have had some thoughts of a more solemn character awakened, must have been insensible indeed.

I speak less, however, with respect to people who have had ample opportunities of attending church all their lives, than of that large class of persons in the country through which we were travelling, many of whom, but for such occasions as this, would otherwise be left altogether without public worship. For we can easily believe, that in the midst of the woods, where the population are employed all the week long at hard labour, and the neighbourhood is but scantily settled, there can be very little or none of that example, or that public opinion, which are found so efficacious elsewhere, to encourage good morals, and to check bad habits. Under such circumstances, there will, almost of necessity, be little attention paid to those duties which ought to be paramount to all others, but which often require, unfortunately, most encouragement and assistance where the means of lending such aids are smallest. Every thing, therefore, which stimulates people to come together expressly for such a purpose—no matter how absurd the manner may sometimes be in which the service is conducted—must prove beneficial; since it cannot fail to send the hearers back to their homes not less fitted for the ordinary business of life, and cer-

tainly in a better frame of mind to consider attentively the nature of those higher obligations, without which even the closest observance of all our moral duties will go for little.

CHAPTER X.

It was late before we reached the town of Cobourg, where, fortunately, we fell into the hands of people of sense and consideration, who allowed us to drop quietly into bed, without overloading us with attentions. This was the more necessary, as we had been hard at work, with little intermission, for six days, and had now a fresh excursion arranged for the next day to a newly-settled part of the country, north of Cobourg, at some distance up the Otanabee River, which, as every one of course knows, runs into the Rice Lake. Our object was to visit the settlement formed by the Irish emigrants, sent to Canada by Government in the year 1825, only two years before. We wished to ascertain, if we could, what was their present condition, and whether this experiment,—for it professedly was one,—had succeeded or not.

Accordingly, we rose at three o'clock in the morning of the 23d of July, 1827, and reached our

destination, the newly erected village of Peterborough, thirty miles north of Cobourg, at half past seven in the evening, more dead than alive with fatigue. Thirty miles looks a short distance on paper, or on a Macadamised road; but in making a cross cut in Canada at midsummer, it is a very different affair indeed. The first twelve miles were by land; and when we had got half way, the waggon broke down; but, fortunately, it was in our power to repair the mischief, by knotting a couple of silk handkerchiefs together, which, by the by, upon such occasions, make a very good rope. At a cottage on the south bank of the Rice Lake, we feasted on some freshly-caught, very capital fish, called mascanongie; after which we embarked in a little, ticklish, incommodious punt, such as I have seen used on the Thames, by worthy citizens bobbing for eels. Our passage across, however, was by no means so smooth as that of the silver stream alluded to; and I, for one, felt no particular comfort when an awkward bubble of a sea set us a-rolling from side to side, at a place, too, where our progress was retarded by the oars getting entangled in the long grassy leaves of a spontaneous rice crop, spread like net-work over one half of the lake, to which, from that circumstance, it gives the name.

We at last entered the Otanabee without a capsize, which was more than I expected, and there

we commenced a long and severe day's work of tugging at the oars against the downward current. This river winds about in a most complicated manner; but it is every where singularly beautiful, from the richness of the verdure, and the form as well as magnitude of the trees, which not only cover the banks, but actually grow for many yards into the water, so as to make it somewhat difficult at most places to reach the firm shore. In the middle of the day we landed at a cleared spot, to rest the wearied boatmen, as well as to stretch our own limbs, sadly cramped and twisted in such a diminutive vessel. We took this opportunity of dining on a monstrous chicken-pie, which our considerate friends had told us would serve for ballast; but, alas! there was no enjoyment, for, like Polonius, we did not so much eat, as were eaten—by mosquitoes,—which attacked us so vigorously, that we were fain to get once more afloat, into the breeze, out of their reach.

There were 2024 settlers sent out by Government in 1825, at the total cost of L.21, 5s. 4d. per head; each family being supplied with provisions for fifteen months, and a hundred acres of land, besides a cow, and other minor aids. They were selected generally as being the most destitute, and incapable of providing for themselves or their families, in their own country.

The object of the experiment was to show how far it was possible to make those useless or worse than useless and miserable beings, good subjects of his Majesty. It was an object, also, to ascertain at what cost their happiness and respectability could be secured in Canada, compared with the expense of maintaining them in a wretched state of discontent and turbulence at home. Thus to show the public generally, but more particularly those landed proprietors whose estates were overpeopled, and also gentlemen whose parishes were overloaded with paupers, in what manner, and for what outlay of money, they might relieve their own burdens, and benefit the unhappy persons who were the involuntary cause of the evil.

The details of the whole of this very curious experiment, both as to the management and the expenses, have been placed so fully before the public in the Parliamentary Reports, and in the evidence before the Emigration Committee, that I need not go into those branches of the subject. Any one who is interested will find ample information on the subject of the two emigrations of 1823, and 1825, in the Third Report of the Emigration Committee, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 29th of June, 1827. I refer par-

ticularly to the evidence of Mr Peter Robinson, page 314.

My purpose was to find out what the settlers themselves had to say upon the matter; for I confess I was somewhat incredulous of the flaming accounts given in England with respect to it. I think I had as ample means of investigating this question as could have been desired, and my conclusion was, that the experiment had been eminently successful, as far as the happiness and the respectability of the parties themselves were concerned, and as far as it was a principal object, as it must have been, that the emigrants should turn out loyal and grateful subjects of their King.

I went, during my stay, as much as possible amongst the settlers—frequently alone, sometimes with the agent, and several times with the clergyman. I had also many opportunities of conversing with gentlemen entirely unconnected with Government, who had lived in the neighbourhood, during the whole progress of the emigration establishment or colony at Peterborough. They, of course, had it in their power to describe, more distinctly than the settlers themselves could do, the leading circumstances of this interesting experiment. The accounts derived from this source, uniformly agreed in describing the condition of the emigrants as most satisfactory, and the project

as successful in all its parts; or if there had been any thing injudicious, it consisted in giving people accustomed to very scanty fare, too ample an allowance of food. This over-indulgence not only hurt the health of the people, but tended in some degree to slacken the individual exertions of the settlers to maintain themselves.

The emigrants were scattered over such an extensive district of country, that I found it impossible to visit them all; but I endeavoured, by riding from place to place, and calling upon the people without warning, to acquire a general conception of what was really going on.

It was curious to observe that most of these settlers, however destitute they may notoriously have been in Ireland, always contrived to evade any acknowledgment of this fact, when direct questions were put to them, and seemed rather to wish I should believe they had been very well off at home. But with a degree of inconsistency, creditable enough, by the way, they were invariably thrown off their guard when asked, in plain terms, whether or not they were sensible of the kindness shown them. Upon these occasions they spoke in the strongest terms of gratitude of what had been done for them by Government; and often, quite forgetting their former disavowals, described with characteristic animation the transition from

their past situation to their present happy condition. What I thought very odd, no complaints ever met my ear, of any omissions on the part of Government. On the contrary, they told me that every want had been attended to.

"Even to the value of that gimlet," said one of the settlers to me, "we are obligated to the King —God bless him! and we shall bring up our children to know what has been done for us and for them—and to be loyal subjects of his Majesty, whatever happens, like as we ourselves;—and good reason, too, for we have been taken from misery and want, and put into independence and happiness."

I found it much the best way, with these odd fellows, to get my information by going, as it were, carelessly to work—beating about the bush—and thus by gradually leading them round to speak freely of their own concerns, to give them an interest in being sincere and communicative. When such precautions were not used, the time spent in conversing with them, was generally thrown away, except as far as amusement went.

The agent happened one day to meet an old man in the village, and knowing him to be a shrewd person, and well informed upon all that had passed, he thought his conversation might serve my purposes. He therefore said to the emigrant that

a gentleman had arrived who wished to put some questions to him. The old boy immediately took alarm, "lest," as he said, "the gentleman had come to interfere with his property, or to bother him in some way, he did not know what."

"What shall I say to the gentleman, sir?" was his first question.

"Why, Cornelius," said the agent, "tell the truth."

"O yes, sir, I know that very well—of course we must always tell the truth—but if I only knew what the gentleman wanted, I would know which way to answer."

"I don't know what you mean, Cornelius," said the agent.

"O, sir! you know quite well what I mean. —Should I overstate matters, sir, or should I understate them?—Shall I make things appear better or worse than they are?"

Not being able, however, to worm out of the agent what was wished, and yet feeling anxious to get to the bottom of the matter, he could not resist the temptation of coming to me, though sorely distrusting the object of my scrutiny.

For a long time he eluded all my interrogatories with great address.—He could not say whether or not he were better off now than he had been at home, though he admitted that here he was mas-

ter of a large free property, and in Ireland he had only a farm, the rent of which, by his own confession, he had never been able to pay.

"Would you like, then," I asked, "to be put down in Ireland again, Mr Cornelius, just as you were?"

"I would, sir."

"Then why don't you go? Who hinders you?"

"Because, sir," said he, "because of the boys."

"What of the boys?" I asked.

"O, it's because my two sons like this country very well; they have chopped twenty acres of land, and we have got crops of wheat and oats, and Indian corn, and potatoes, and some turnips —all coming up and almost ready to cut; besides five or six more acres chopped and logged, and soon to be in cultivation; and the boys like their independence. In short, sir, it is a fine country for a poor man, if he be industrious; and, were it not for the ague, a good country, and a rich one; though, to be sure, it is rather out of the way, and the roads are bad, and the winter very cold; yet there is always plenty to eat, and sure employment and good pay for them that like to work."

Thus he rambled on, antithetically praising and dispraising the country; fearful at one time of saying too much, and yet feeling that, in his circumstances, too much could hardly be said in its

favour, and evidently not a little apprehensive of the impression his eloquence was to make upon the traveller—a nondescript sort of character he had not seen in the woods before.

I wished to know if he felt grateful to Government for having sent him and his family out to Canada free of expense, and given him so much land and provisions gratis? He was completely taken aback by the directness of the appeal, and exclaimed in a sort of shout,—

"O! yes, to be sure I am! we owe every thing in the world to the Government—that is, to the King, his Majesty, long life to him!"

But in the next instant, fearing, I suppose, that I was to take advantage of this unqualified admission, he drew up and said with studied gravity,—

"For all that, I might have done very well in Ireland."

"Why the plague, then," I asked, "did you remove to America?"

"Och, sir," cried he, laughing and harping on the old string, "it was all entirely owing to the boys. They were not content I should be left without them, and I was not content they should go without me. Their mother—God bless her—I buried long ago, and I never consented to put another woman over them. In short, sir, we were

resolved to go together, and here we are, very happy and contented, and here we'll all remain."

On the 24th of July, I took a long ride, pretty much at random, amongst the settlers; and in the course of my travels, lighted on several older establishments, which I was glad of, as it enabled me to form a comparison with the recent settlements, about which I was more immediately concerned. One of these amused me a good deal. It belonged to an old Scotsman from Banff, with a jolly red nose, in shape and colour like the sweet potato of that country; a prosing old body, who brightened up, however, amazingly when I told him where I came from; and I had much ado to escape a sound dose of whisky which he wished to force upon me for countryman-sake.

It was two o'clock before we reached the Clearing, as it is called, of one of the most active of all the emigrants of 1825. He was not at home, but his wife did the honours of her shanty, or log-hut, with much of that affability and genuine good-breeding which belong to the Irish. She introduced her three eldest sons to me—lads of twenty, eighteen, and sixteen years of age; besides a great fry of young ones, boys and girls, in all eleven. From November 1825, to this period, July 1827, they had cleared, I think, twenty-six acres of land, most of which were under rich cultivation.

I may take occasion to mention at this place, that each of the families sent out by Government, in 1825, when located, as the term is, on their land, were supplied with various necessary articles to assist them, which cost, independently of the expenses of passage out and all other incidental outlays, about L.12 per head, or L.60 for a family of one man and woman, and three children.

Mr Peter Robinson, in his Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, 3d Report, p. 349, gives the following list: "Each head of a family is to be located upon 100 acres of land, to have a small log-house built for him, and to be furnished with 15 months' provisions; 1 cow, 1 American axe, 1 auger, 1 handsaw, 1 pickaxe, 1 spade, 2 gimlets, 100 nails, 1 hammer, 1 iron wedge, 3 hoes, 1 kettle, 1 fryingpan, 1 iron pot, 5 bushels of seed potatoes, 8 quarts of Indian corn; and if they are very poor, they will require also blankets, in the proportion of one to each grown person, and one among three children."

The size of the shanties, or log-huts, put up at the expense of Government, may be conceived, when I mention, that two men, accustomed to the use of the axe, can manage to cut down the trees, prepare the logs, put them up, roof the house, and complete the whole establishment, in two days. I should say the dimensions of this particular

dwelling were twenty feet long by twelve wide, and seven feet high. The roof was formed of logs split into four lengths, then hollowed out, and laid with the concave and the convex sides alternately upwards and downwards, so as to overlap one another, like long tiles, sloping from the ridge to the eves, so that each alternate log formed a gutter, or channel, to carry off the rain. The openings between the logs forming the walls were closed by mud and moss mixed together; and sometimes these shanties had a window, sometimes not.

Unless I could put down the exact words used by this good lady and her family, I should convey no just idea of the extent of their gratitude for the advantages they had received. It was not possible, she said, to express how entirely satisfied they were with their present lot, or how completely Government had provided for all their wants, and enabled them to start fair in this new world. I tried by various questions to get her to make complaints, and to say they stood in need of something; but I could not elicit a single dissatisfied expression.

"Some of the family—most of them, indeed," she said, "had been ill with the ague; but there was a doctor not far off, and this present season was more healthy, and they were now better. They had also plenty to eat, and had more clothing than

they had ever been accustomed to; and, in short, were all doing well."

The children crowded round to listen to this dialogue, and sometimes to put in a word. They were neat and clean, and though their dress was scanty, they were not shabbily clad. I sat on a great chest four feet long, and nearly a yard high; from which elevation I could see another still larger at the opposite end of the house. In these huge boxes they had brought all their crockery, and little finery of furniture—no great matter, I presume—from Ireland. On the side of the room, fronting the door, three beds were placed in a line, touching one another, and occupying the whole length of the establishment. But I did not push my enquiries any further, as to the principles of stowage at night, by which a dozen souls were lodged in three such cribs.

In the evening we walked over to Smith's Town, an establishment of emigrants of nine years' standing, consisting, I believe, entirely, of a party of miners who came out at their own expense, and received a hundred acres of land each from Government, being merely required to deposit in the Secretary of State's hands L.10 each before leaving England. This sum was refunded at a stated period, I forget what, but not until they had fairly taken root upon their allotted grounds. The pros-

perity of these settlers, whose means were even more slender than those of the emigrants of 1825—for they had to pay their own passage, and were not maintained, after landing, at the public expense—has had so good an effect in encouraging the new comers, that I have no doubt that in eight or nine years more, were I to revisit these districts, I should find my friends, the poor Irish settlers, living in the ease and comparative affluence now enjoyed by the inhabitants of Smith's Town.

In the course of this evening's ramble I fell in, accidentally, with two of the emigrants of 1825, who could not possibly know me. I felt, accordingly, anxious to lead them into conversation; and as they happened to be very communicative personages, I succeeded in procuring much information on the subject of the settlement. But not a word of complaint against the Government, or the gentlemen employed to conduct the emigration, could I squeeze out of them. It may seem absurd that I should have tried to make these people take such a line of complaint; but the fact is, I was extremely desirous, on many accounts, to know how matters really stood. Having heard but one uniform story, I began to distrust myself, and to suspect that my wishes had prompted suitable leading questions, or that a ready belief, inclining one way, had misled me.

Upon the whole, however, I do not think it likely that I deceived myself, or that I was wilfully deceived by the settlers, who, it strikes me, would naturally have taken this occasion to complain had they felt themselves ill used, by persons from whom they could look for nothing more, and who had no longer any authority over them. The universal satisfaction expressed by these people is creditable to the statesman,—I believe, Mr Wilmot Horton,—who devised the experiment,—to Mr Peter Robinson, by whose skill and patience it was carried through its many difficulties,—and also to the good sense, moderation, and industry of the poor emigrants themselves, who, though raised from the lowest degree of eleemosynary dependence, and almost of starvation, showed that they had sufficient strength of mind to bear prosperity with steadiness, and feeling enough to acknowledge, without reserve, to whose bounty they stood so deeply indebted.

I intended to have resumed these researches early on the next day, but it rained so violently that we were confined most of the morning within doors. About noon it cleared up; but the paths cut by the settlers through the forest were now mostly covered with water, and rendered so slippery and clammy, that walking was scarcely possible. Every bough that was touched sent down

such a shower of drops, that I got soundly ducked before reaching a shanty in the thicket, where I found a hardy fellow, who had come to the spot only in May, or little more than two months before. In this short interval, with a little assistance, he had chopped, logged, and branded or burnt the timber on seven acres of land, which were now mostly sown with wheat and Indian corn. This man had accompanied the other settlers in 1825, but having no money—not even a single dollar—he had gone into the service of a gentleman settled near Peterborough, and, by saving his wages, was enabled, at the end of a year and a half, to establish himself to greater advantage on the lot granted him by Government, than he could possibly have done at first.

Both Pat and his wife, as well as their children, told me they were delighted with their new situation, though every one had been ill with the ague, and more than half of them had it still. Indeed, I do not think we entered a single house in or near Peterborough, where some members of the family were not suffering under this ferreting, though seldom fatal complaint. But what is curious enough, it was confined very much to recent settlers, while on the older establishments, similarly circumstanced as to soil and situation, the sickness was not only less, but was gradually wearing out.

The settler to whom I was now speaking, in all the pride of territorial possession, entreated me to walk over his grounds. In the course of our progress through the uncleared part of his domain, we came upon one of the most magnificent oaks I think I ever beheld. I stood for some time admiring it, and thinking what a pity it was that such a glorious tree should be felled to the earth; and still more, that it should afterwards be chopped up, and burnt along with vulgar pine-logs, instead of being converted into frame timbers, or into breast-hooks, for a first-rate ship-of-war,—its true destiny, if doomed to the axe.

"I wish very much," said I to the owner, "that for my sake you would spare this grand oak?"

"O! that I will, your honour, I'll spare twenty of them, if you have a mind,—only point them out to me, sir."

"No, no! I want only this one."

"Very well, sir, very well, it shall be yours from this moment; and if you will give me leave, it shall bear your name, and a fence shall be put round it—and while I have breath in my body, there it shall stand,—you may be sure,—and even after me,—if my children will respect their father's wishes.—Do ye hear that, boys?"

I have since received a letter from a friend in

that quarter of the world, in which the following passage occurs:

"I have been over to see the good folks at Peterborough and Douro, since you left us. Your visit there with Mrs Hall is held in the most pleasing recollection; and Welsh, the Irish emigrant, vows eternal vengeance against any one that shall dare to do the least injury to Captain Hall's oak."

There is a circumstance connected with the new settlements in those countries which it may be interesting to mention, as throwing light on the peculiar state of society. During the first few years after the arrival of any considerable body of emigrants, which of late years has frequently occurred, and before they have acquired any independence, all those members of each family who can be spared from field work, go off to the neighbouring towns, villages, or even to the better class of farm houses, and engage themselves as servants. Most of the young women are thus employed at first, and frequently also the boys. During certain periods of the first year, even the father and his grown-up sons cast about for employment as labourers, at some public works, such as the Erie or the Welland canals, or wherever high wages may be offered. By one or other of these means, or all combined, the family manage ere long—in a country where labour is almost exclusively the ca-

pital—to acquire a little ready money. With this they buy oxen, cows, pigs, clothes, implements of husbandry, and other things, useful for their own farms.

The progress towards independence, it may be observed, is very rapid when industry is applied to the untouched soil of that country, and the parents are enabled gradually to withdraw their girls and boys from a description of service, which, in all transatlantic regions, is considered more or less disreputable, however lucrative it may be;—a feeling arising, in some degree, from the great facility of acquiring landed property. Besides which, the children, even at a young age, can be rendered useful about the farm in many ways, as soon as the first heavy labour of clearing is over.

From these circumstances, it happens that the power of getting servants even at Cobourg, York, and other considerable towns in Canada, varies very much from year to year. When first a fresh batch of settlers arrives, there is no difficulty, nor for some time afterwards; but exactly in proportion as the emigrants succeed in establishing themselves, and thus acquire independence, so the difficulty of obtaining servants increases. The inconvenience to which even the wealthiest residents are put in all those countries, from their attendants being called home, and from there being abso-

lutely no distinct order of persons bred in that line of life, is greater than can well be conceived in England. With us, at home, fortunately, a class does exist, whose sole object and pleasure it is to employ themselves in this particular line of useful industry, who consider themselves to the full as independent as any other members of the community, and who take good care to make this privilege be acknowledged by bargains equally binding on their masters as on themselves. In Canada, however, and throughout America generally, there is a deep-rooted, but surely very idle, prejudice against this description of labour; caused, probably, by some associations connected with the existence of negro slavery over so great a portion of the United States. Be this as it may, the fact is one which goes farther to make a residence on the western side of the Atlantic inconvenient, than people can easily comprehend who have never been subjected to the absolute want of servants; or, what is often worse, to the necessity of submitting in patience to the ungracious, capricious, sluggish, disrespectful, and, at the very best, ill qualified nature of American attendance, which prevails from end to end of that country.

What has been said of the ease with which a labouring man can get bread for himself and his family, will apply generally over the Canadas,

and particularly the Upper Province, and I believe also in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. I do not therefore qualify the remark, when I say, that British America appears to me not a bad country for a destitute man, or one who possesses health and strength, and nothing more, but who has been accustomed to bodily labour from his youth upwards; and whose wife, sons, and daughters, in like manner, are ready to turn their hands to hard or disagreeable work without scruple. They must also, if necessary, cheerfully condescend, for a time, to act as servants to others, or to their own party, according as may be most conducive to the pecuniary interest of the family, without dreaming of refinements. It will certainly be advantageous that they should already have known what domestic comforts are, that their future efforts may have a definite aim; but it will be all the better if not one of them knows, by past experience, what luxury means.

Such at least are my ideas on the subject, which of course go for little; but I am happy to have it in my power to give, from good authority, in corroboration of my own opinions, some more useful and complete statements of what a labouring man must do, and what results he may expect in Upper Canada.

The following letter is written by a practical

farmer, a gentleman who has resided for some time in that country amongst new settlers, and who knows from actual experience, as well as by actual observation, how these matters stand. I shall not risk injuring his statement by abridgment, but give the whole letter, which was written in consequence of some questions I had put to him.

"Otanabee, 16th April, 1828.

"On my return home after so long an absence, I find my own affairs so much behind hand, that I shall be unable to give the questions put by Captain Hall that consideration I wish, and which they deserve.

"If a labouring man, we shall suppose with a wife and five children, arrives in Canada with L.10 in his pocket, if he possess industrious habits and can live with great frugality, he may go at once on wild land. He will probably get to the Province in time to earn by his labours during the harvest sufficient to buy a cow, and probably some provisions. He should, however, be on his own land as soon as possible, and the old settlers are never backward to make what is called a Bee,—or mustering of the neighbourhood for a common purpose,—and thus he gets his house up. This he may make comfortable, and have also time to underbrush from three to five acres before the win-

ter sets in. If the snow is not very deep, he may chop—that is, cut down trees—during all the winter; but if the weather prevents him from working with the axe after the middle of January, he must take up the flail for some of his neighbours, for which service he will receive grain in payment. But the axe must be resumed as soon as the impediment of snow is removed. In chopping, great care must be taken to save all the timber that will make rails, and leaving the logs of the proper length for that purpose. He will find no difficulty in keeping his cow, or even three or four head of cattle, as the tender branches of the trees he chops down in spring, with the addition of plenty of salt, will keep them in good order.

"If any of his family can assist him, he will be able to clear the whole land chopped in winter, and to crop it with potatoes, Indian corn, and turnips. If he have no such aid, he will be able to clear off about two acres, by exchanging work with some other settler, to help him with his oxen to log and draw off his rail cuts to their places. When his crops are in, and his fences up, he must again go out to work for provisions for his family, and continue doing so through the harvest, in order to get a yoke of steers. He will be able, indeed, to work out longer this year than he will ever be able to do again, as his family can cut his corn and husk

it. If he gets his potatoes and other crops off in time, he may sow fall, or autumn wheat; but if not, he will have a better crop by sowing in the spring. If any of his winter chopping remains, by all means he should sow fall wheat in that. From this time he may subsist with comfort by occasionally working out,—taking care to make any sacrifice to continue clearing his own land. Flax he may grow at once, and sheep he may keep after three years.

"I think such a family may get from most seaport towns at home, to the district of Newcastle in Upper Canada, for about L.10; and supposing them to possess the L.10 I before mentioned, the emigrant, by following something like the plan laid down, will find himself in prosperous circumstances in the fourth or fifth year. Let it be understood, however, that I am supposing the party to be sober and industrious. A great number of the settlers round me had barely enough to defray the expenses of their passage, and have now a large clearing, and a good stock of cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry, besides many other articles of farm produce.

"If any thing can be gleaned from this worth mentioning to Captain Hall, that may benefit the community, it will afford me much pleasure.

"I remain your most obedient servant."

CHAPTER XI.

This may do very well for hard-working labourers; but it is quite another affair when ladies and gentlemen, accustomed to the comforts of civilized life, and, above all, to the enjoyments of cultivated society, are obliged, from whatever circumstances, to seek an independence in the woods of America.

Accidental circumstances threw me in the way of several families who had tried this experiment; and as they very kindly told me the story of their progress from beginning to end, I became in some degree acquainted with a subject, of which, I confess, I had been before almost entirely ignorant.

It struck me afterwards that genuine adventures of this description could not fail to interest many persons in England, and I tried to record what I had heard, exactly as it had been told me. But I soon found that so much of the spirit of the narrative lay in the minute fidelity—even to the very words—

of actual experience, that I in vain sought to fill up from my own knowledge of Canada, those blanks in my memory. The whole point of the story, I discovered, often turned on circumstances apparently trivial, but belonging so exactly either to the individual characters themselves, or to the peculiar nature of the local circumstances, that when left out, or bungled in the composition, the result, thus stripped of its original freshness, was quite flat and unprofitable. In this dilemma, I wrote to a friend in that quarter, to say that I thought some notice of the difficulties which the families alluded to had encountered, and of the methods they had adopted to overcome them, would not only interest my own particular friends, but if I should have the means of circulating this knowledge more extensively, it might prove generally useful to persons, whose attention should be directed to Canada. I took occasion at the same time, to ask their opinion as to several interesting points connected with the question of emigration.

In consequence of this request, our worthy friends in the Bush, as they call their semi-wilderness of a residence, with great good-nature, wrote down as nearly as they could what they had told us during our visit. These letters are so full of characteristic details, and contain so many just reflections, calculated to be useful on nume-

rous collateral subjects, that I have not been able either to condense or to abridge them, without injuring the natural simplicity with which they are written. Indeed, it will almost always be found, that when people write about what concerns themselves deeply, especially if they have a great superabundance of topic, the expression takes the copious character of their matter, and when given with good faith, carries with it a vigour, as well as a grace, far beyond the reach of art.

I shall therefore give one or two of these letters untouched, as I think they afford a more satisfactory glimpse into the actual doings of the forest, than could be derived from the most elaborate descriptions of a traveller. And it is only necessary to mention further, that the writers are persons accustomed, during all their previous lives, to good society, and to the other advantages of an older country.

"DOURO IN UPPER CANADA.
21st April, 1828.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"As you were commissioned by Captain Hall to procure from me answers to some queries, I shall just give you a short sketch of the proceedings of my own family from the commencement. I shall declare the truth—but not the whole truth—as it would require volumes to contain all I could re-

late; and as you are partly aware of the difficulties we had to encounter, you will perceive there is no exaggeration.

"After various dangers on the voyage out, we reached Quebec in safety. Our party was very large, consisting of 21 persons; and wishing to use as much economy as possible, we engaged some births in the steerage of the steam-boat for Montreal, having a temporary division made to prevent our party from being annoyed by the common passengers. Two dollars a-head was the charge. Three children were charged for as one passenger. From La Chine near Montreal, we proceeded in Batteaux up the river St Lawrence. This was very pleasant for a day or two, but when continued for eight or nine, it became tiresome. Sometimes we slept in hay-lofts, preferring the sweet fresh hay and cool air, to the small close rooms in taverns, which abounded with bugs. Sometimes we lay on the grass near the river side, and though frequently wet through with dew, yet our party enjoyed good health. We arrived at Kingston, at the east end of Lake Ontario, on the night of the ninth day, and as all the houses were shut up, were obliged to remain in the boats till morning, when we engaged a schooner, and took our passage for York, the capital of Upper Canada. Lay two days waiting for a fair wind—weather oppressively hot.

"At York we remained for six weeks, the greater part of which time my family was accommodated in the garrison by permission of the governor. During our stay at York, we unpacked our boxes, and found our things much injured by the wet they received in the schooner. At the end of a month we received a carte blanche from the Governor in Council to pitch our tents in any township in which there was vacant land. I hired a waggon, and, accompanied by my brother-in-law and his son, and laying in a store of provisions sufficient for a week, we proceeded to Cobourg; delivered a few letters of introduction to some of the principal people there, and in company with a friend went to the Rice Lake, where he introduced us to the surveyor of the back township, who lives at the east end of the lake. This was the first time I had ever been in the house of a back-wood settler. The lady of the house was ill with the Lake fever, the little infant sick with ague, so that all the housekeeping devolved upon the man of the house, who milked the cows, cooked their meals, and attended the invalids, besides attending to all the business of the farms. This, I must confess, staggered me a little, particularly as I myself felt ill at the time; but I saw no appearance of dejection in him, and why should I allow fears to arise? The next morn-

ing a female was procured to attend the sick, and we proceeded 24 miles up the Otanabee River, to a place then called Scott's Plains, now Peterborough, where there was, and still is, a most wretched farm-house, and tumbling down grist and saw-mill. My brother-in-law and three men, including the surveyor, crossed the river to spy the promised land, and walked to Douro, about three miles higher up the river. I was ill and not able to accompany them. When they returned, they made a very favourable report, and literally brought a bunch of wild grapes.

"We all then came back again, with the full determination to bring our families to Douro. I became very ill before I reached Cobourg, where I was confined to bed at a miserable tavern. I was visited by a gentleman, who, in the most friendly and hospitable manner, insisted on my being removed to his house, where I remained dangerously ill for about three weeks. My brother-in-law, in the meantime, had returned to York for our two families, leaving his son to take care of me. In about ten days they reached Cobourg in a schooner, after having encountered a storm, and having been nearly shipwrecked. The ladies and myself remained in lodgings at Cobourg, and my brother-in-law and his sons, along with some labourers, went to Douro, to begin opera-

tions where none but Indians, or Indian traders, had ever been before, and the party merely guessing where they were, as that township had not yet been surveyed. They cut a road from the landing-place opposite to Scott's Mills, three miles through thick woods, to the place they were to begin to build the house, for the strong current in the river prevented them from proceeding farther by water. With some difficulty they procured a yoke of oxen to hire in Smyth Town, and were obliged to swim them across the river.

"After some time provisions began to run short, and two men were sent out to forage. After travelling for many miles they returned with one small pig, which lasted for only two days. No flour was to be had at the Mill, as the neighbourhood afforded no wheat. At this time 18 men were employed by my brother-in-law to saw the logs of our houses, and he was quite at a loss where to send for food. Fortunately I arrived that very evening with a supply of pork, pease, flour, and whisky; for if I had not come, all the men would have gone away, and it would have been nearly impossible to collect them again, as they lived many miles from each other and from Douro. This collection of neighbours is called a Bee, and is the common custom to assist each other in any great piece of labour, such as build-

ing a house, logging, &c. The person who 'calls the bee' is expected to feed them well, and to return their work day for day. On my way up the river from Rice Lake, I was obliged to sleep in the woods with a blanket rolled round me, and a large fire at my feet. Some Indians who were coming down the river, came to us, and sold us some venison for a little whisky; we made them cook it for us, and also remain with us all night to keep on a good fire, as it was cold weather in November, and there was some snow on the ground.

"I spent a day or two at Douro to see my house put up, as it was quite a new scene to me, and is extremely interesting to see a small opening made in the forest, and with the trees cut down the walls of a house erected in a few hours; and when every thing has been prepared, a house may be finished and ready to be inhabited in two days. But this was not so with us; for, from the difficulty of procuring hands and materials so far back, we had many delays; in consequence of the severe frost setting in, and the illness of the only mason in the country, the stone work of our chimneys was only half done.

"I returned to Cobourg, to bring out our families to the woods; but I found my wife very ill, and also one of our children, which delayed us for

some months; but my sister and her family went out, and took up their abode in what is called a shanty, which is merely a shed or hut made of logs, and roofed with slabs hollowed out of logs to turn the wet, and was quite open at one side, and in front was a great log fire. They were obliged to live in this shanty the whole winter, as the frost prevented the mason from building the chimneys of their house: that winter we had much deeper snow than we have seen since we have been in Canada, being then 3½ feet deep; and I have seen the little children, from two years old and upwards, sitting round the fire, heavy snow falling all the time; yet both my brother-in-law and sister say, they never knew their children so healthy or so lively as they then were.

"On the 1st of March, 1823, they got into their house, having put up a stove: the thermometer often 30 below zero during this winter.

"Upon the 10th of February, 1823, my family being once more in good travelling order, we departed from Cobourg, to the surprise of some of our friends, who thought that our courage would have failed, when the great plunge was actually to be taken. The first night we slept at a little tavern, and adopting the custom of woods-folk at once, we rolled ourselves in our blankets, and lay down on the floor before a large fire. The next

evening we reached Scott's Mills; had our luggage and children carried across the river; we were met on the other side with a sleigh and oxen, to convey us to our new abode. Having arranged our bedding and the younger children on the sleigh, we proceeded; the snow nearly knee-deep, and for the last two miles in darkness; so that we were right glad to see the cheerful light of a good fire shining through our log-hut windows. Here my sister and most of her family met us to welcome us to the woods. Our house appeared large and wild, as, from the difficulty of procuring boards at the saw mill, there was not a single partition in ours put up; even on the floors, the boards were scarcely sufficient to prevent the children's feet from going through. When we set about to prepare our beds, we found the floor covered above an inch thick with ice, of which we removed as much as we could with axes and spades, and then put a layer of chips and shavings, upon which we spread our mattresses and blankets; then having hung up some blankets at the doors, and also for partitions, we lay down to rest, being pretty well fatigued; and upon looking upwards from our beds, we saw the sky through the roof; and have often, during the time we lay in that manner, amused ourselves watching the stars passing, and others appearing.

"The next morning, I sent all hands to Scott's Mills for the remainder of our luggage, and my wife and I set out to go to see my sister. However, having occasion to return for something, I observed smoke issuing from many parts of the roof. As quickly as I could, I went up the ladder, and found the upper part of the chimney and a great part of the roof on fire. No one was in the house, except a maid-servant and three little children; fortunately the scaffolding had not been removed; I climbed up, and was just taking a pail of water from the girl, when the scaffolding gave way, and down I came. I with much difficulty scrambled up again, and tore away the shingles which were on fire, and after some time and trouble, succeeded in extinguishing the fire. This fire was caused by a dangerous method they have here of building chimneys with cross sticks, plastered with clay; but this had been built in severe frost, so that the clay did not adhere, and the sticks caught fire.

"Our time was now occupied in endeavouring to make ourselves comfortable, and we amused ourselves by looking forward to seeing some appearance of vegetation. This, however, did not occur until the beginning of May. In April, we tried to make some sugar; but as we had nobody to tell us how to set about it, we did not succeed at all.

The place we boiled the sap was within one hundred yards of the house; but so close were the trees, that I could not see the house; and it even appeared so long a walk there, that I had my dinner carried to me, thinking it too far to return for it myself. This is a mistake which frequently occurs to new settlers; and I have often since laughed, as that very spot is now cleared, and appears almost at the very door; and, although we are only 84 yards from the river, we were two months here before we could see it from the house. As soon, however, as the snow went off, we commenced chopping, to admit air and sun, and got ten acres ready for spring crops. It has occurred to us more than once, in the two or three first years of our residence here, to be in danger of starvation, from the extreme difficulty of procuring any sort of provisions in this neighbourhood, and from the uncertainty of conveyances from Cobourg, our roads being few, and very bad, and for some time, both in spring and autumn, our navigation being interrupted by broken or bad ice, not good for sleighing. The first year, we had no potatoes until August, and were glad to gather any wild plants which we were told could be safely used as greens, to make a little variety. Salt pork, pease soup, and bread, being but bad food for children, sometimes for weeks together, we have used tea made

of the young shoots of the hemlock-pine, or burnt Indian corn for coffee. We lived so far from other settlers, that we seldom heard of any opportunity of sending out for any thing we wanted. I have had three or four men working for me, and have not had provisions sufficient for the next day. I have gone out with my ox team, and a man to forage, and, after travelling an entire day, returned with a couple of sheep, that had not a pound of fat upon them, a little pork, and a few fowls, and when crossing the river, just near my own house, have been near losing the whole cargo by the strong current.

"The most interesting time had now arrived, when we saw our first crops appear above ground. I had the honour of planting and sowing the first seeds in Douro. But our troubles were not at an end; for in June, when all our crops were looking well, and when we looked forward to having a reward for our patience and industry, a great fire, which began in the woods, extended into our clearing, and burnt up a large portion of the young Indian corn and potatoes, and it was with the greatest exertion that we were able to save a part of our precious crops. This fire lasted for two or three days, and all hands were busily employed carrying water.

"In the second year of our sojourn, we lost a

dear little daughter, nearly two years old, one who was most endearing to all who saw her, and who often beguiled an hour, after a day of hard labour. Two days passed before we could send and procure a doctor. A short time after this, my wife was confined, and I had to send fifteen miles for a nurse tender, who reached us with much difficulty, as she was obliged to walk through woods, where no road had ever been cut, and to be carried sometimes across swamps, and lifted over large logs. My wife, however, recovered safely and speedily, although her confinement took place in the depth of winter; and now we have three little children, who have never been three miles from this house. Nothing unpleasant has happened within the last year or two, with the exception of the loss of some cattle, by the falling of trees, and other accidents. Our provisions occasionally ran short for the first three years; and at times we have literally used plain bran made into cakes, and used Indian corn boiled, when we could not procure flour. In the winter of 1824 we had four Scotsmen employed; and, in order to supply them with bread, we were obliged to grind our wheat in a small hand-mill, which, fortunately, we had brought with us for grinding coffee, pepper, &c. Every evening, after a hard day's work, these four young

men ground as much wheat as was sufficient for supplying bread for each day.

"We had been nearly a year and a half living here before my wife saw a female of any description, except those of our own two families—and one day I took her down to the mill, where two women were washing at the river side, when she immediately cried out, 'Oh! there are two women!' Three years passed away without any appearance of settlers coming near us. I thought, as my family were growing up, it was a pity to spend any more time in this hopeless retirement. So I had written to a friend in Cobourg to procure for me a snug little place in that neighbourhood, with about 50 acres of land. A few days after this, Mr P. Robinson came to my house, and mentioned to me his intention of bringing up the emigrants to these back townships. At once we gave up every idea of removing—the clouds dispersed—all our difficulties seemed over.

"The plains at Scott's Mills were soon after covered with huts and shanties, and inhabited by 2000 souls. All became bustle and activity; houses and stoves erected; a clergyman, priest, doctor, besides various kinds of tradesmen, were soon established; in fact, every thing we wanted appeared within our reach, and we had the prospect of some society. Now I would not exchange for any

other part of the province. Our farm (which is now near 70 acres) will give us all the necessaries of life. Often my wife and I look back, I may say with pleasure, at our little grievances, and enjoy the retrospect. No settlers coming here now can have any idea of the difficulties of the first settlers, as they can now procure every thing they require if they have the means of purchasing it. We now have good mills both for flour and boards, thanks to our good governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, and Mr Robinson; a bridge over the river, roads in every direction, and a regular communication with the towns in front, so that any lady and gentleman with a small annual income, and the prospect of a family, with proper management would do well here, by securing a landed property for their children. All unnecessary expenses must be avoided for some time, as labour and necessaries are high-priced, I mean clothing, provisions, &c., particularly if a man cannot work himself, or if his family are not able to assist him. A settler in this country, though he may have an income, must do all he can to assist in getting on the work; and he must come here with the full determination to become a farmer to all intents and purposes. The lady must be a good economist and housekeeper; and if she is willing, contented, and reasonable, she

will have it in her power to save her husband many an hour of anxiety and pain.

"Try to surmount all difficulties; and as there is always constant employment for both head and hands, never for a moment let your mind dwell on your apparent unpleasant situation; look forward with hope, and all will go on well, no danger.

"I have now given you a short account of our sojourn of five years in this new country; and though we have had some little difficulties, and some anxieties, yet we are as happy and contented as any others in the country, or perhaps as we could be any where; we certainly regret the loss of the society of our distant friends, yet we consider the step we took in coming here was that of duty to our children. My property here will become valuable in time; and the great pleasure of still living under the protection and care of the British Government, though last, is not the least of the many blessings we enjoy.

"It would be a most desirable thing to have a few thousand English and Scots settlers amongst us, particularly the latter, as they are so steady, industrious, and moral. Douro settlers are at present all Irish, and, though doing very well, yet, from their former indolent habits, they have not exerted themselves as much as they might, being

addicted to taking a little too much whisky, and by doing so lose a great deal of time. A great improvement would arise from the settlers of the different parts of Great Britain intermarrying; and any differences which might have existed would soon wear away. The Scots have all got more or less education, and think it a disgrace not to have their children taught the common rudiments of learning. This is apt to be neglected in a new country, from the excuse of want of time, for a child even of five years old may be of great use to its parents; but if the country were better settled, so as to reduce the price of labour, parents could then hire assistance, and spare their children to go to school.

"A thousand arguments might be produced in favour of mixing English and Scots settlers with the Irish here, not so much for their mode of farming, as from the good example they would give of sobriety, regularity, morality, and steadiness; not fond of visiting, card-playing, carousing, or party spirit. As for farming, the best and only way (if settlers want to succeed in the back-woods,) is to follow the methods of the Americans, as they are our masters in these matters. I am sure I speak the sentiments of all who have succeeded in those parts, when I say that great benefits would arise from a number of Scots emigrants being intro-

duced amongst the Irish. We have a few in some of the neighbouring townships. They are proverbial for good conduct in every way, and every one wishes to employ them in preference to others. For the first two years I never was without one or two, and sometimes four. I found them industrious, obliging, and honest, and free from presumption—they were very superior to the Irish, or even the English. Mind I am an Irishman myself!

"I hope what I have said is something to the purpose. And believe me, my dear sir,

"Yours," &c.

As I have given the above letter exactly as it was written, I shall leave it to make its own impression; only remarking, that, in spite of the encouragement held out to ladies and gentlemen with small incomes to settle in the Bush, my own opinion is decidedly against such projects, in the general run of cases, and I shall be sorry if what I have here given either under my own hand, or that of my correspondents, shall tempt any such persons to leave their homes, in the hope of making themselves more comfortable. The wilderness, as I have said before, is an excellent asylum only for people in severe pecuniary distress, but who have strength of mind, and strength of

body, to encounter the fatigues of unremitting hard labour.

Nevertheless, although this be quite true, it is highly interesting to observe how much may be done under circumstances of great difficulty, even by a gentleman previously unaccustomed to manual labour, provided he be resolute, active, and cheerful, and especially if he has been trained by a course of naval discipline to regular habits of self-command and self-denial, and has acquired by practice that description of prompt resource, which a perpetual struggle with the elements renders almost indispensable to his success. This training teaches the mind to consider that every difficulty may be surmounted, the means to overcome which are not dishonourable.

The following picture of a half-pay officer settling in the back-woods, strikes me as being so like what De Foe would have drawn, had he sent his hero to Canada, instead of the South Seas, with the superadded interest of its being true to the very letter, that I shall insert the whole, verbatim as it came to my hands. Independently, too, of the lively and graphic fidelity of this narrative, it will be found to contain much practical advice, of which I can assure other settlers, they may avail themselves with confidence.

"When I was residing near Swansea in South Wales," writes my worthy brother officer from the back-woods of Canada, "I happened one day to be dining at the house of an esteemed friend, when the conversation commenced by some one, after dinner, speaking about the Canadas, the probable chance of mending our fortunes, providing for our families, and mode of proceeding. At the time, it appeared mere conversation. However, it made such a deep impression on us all, that from that day we never met without renewing the subject, reading every work we could procure, both on these Provinces, and the United States of America, and gaining what information we could from every person who had ever been in Canada. My brother shortly afterwards removed to Swansea, in order to accompany my friend, who had also made up his mind to emigrate; but a severe domestic loss prevented the former from going, and changed his views: but I had come to the determination to go to Canada; for I found that with a limited income of L.100 a-year, it was impossible to maintain, with proper respectability, that situation in life which my profession called for. My family consisted of a wife and three children, from seven to three years old.

"Thus having made my mind up, in the winter of 1818, I began to make preparations, by dispo-

sing of my household furniture, reserving for myself beds, bedding, carpets, and such other things as were portable and likely to be useful. I also made arrangements for borrowing the sum of L.200. Arrived at Bristol, I procured a variety of tools, implements of husbandry, clothing, &c., to the amount of L.100, and laid in a good stock of provisions, and every thing likely to make the voyage comfortable across the Atlantic.

"We sailed on the 3d of May, 1819, and after a tedious voyage to Quebec, and some detention afterwards in getting up the country, we arrived at the village of Cobourg, in the district of Newcastle, on the 19th of July. The whole of my expenses for voyage, provisions, and all other travelling charges, amounted to L.100, 8s., so that on my arrival, I had a very small sum left. However, my quarter's pay came round, I was in a cheap country, and, moreover, found a most warm and hospitable reception in the house of my old and esteemed friend. As a new township on the Rice Lake was about being surveyed, and I had not means to purchase a cleared farm near my friend, I determined to wait till the survey was finished, and try the Bush —as the woods here are called.—This was in the month of December of the same year. I then obtained the grant of land my rank in the naval service entitled me to. In February, 1820, I con-

tracted with two men to put me up a log-house, 28 feet by 20; and thirteen logs, or as many feet high; to roof it with shingles, and to board up the gable ends; and to clear off one acre about the house, to prevent the trees from falling on it, for all which I paid them 100 dollars. This shell of a building had merely a doorway cut out of the middle; and when my friend and the clergyman of Hamilton drove out in a single sleigh with me, to see it, and we took our dinner at one end and our horse at the other, on a miserably cold day in the month of March, it looked wretched enough; but as it was the first but one, so it was the last in the township. Whilst the snow and ice were good, I moved all my effects, got boards sufficient to finish my house, and a six months' stock of provisions out; and on the 8th of May took my family into their pile of logs in a Canadian forest.

"I will own, for a time our situation appalled me, and to my then unformed judgment in Bush matters, it seemed a hopeless struggle; but I was out with my family, and as I did not want for energy, I set to work in earnest. To two Americans I let a job to chop four acres and a half, at six dollars an acre; and at the same time, a man whom I had occasionally employed at home, followed me out, and came to hire. During the course of the summer, he felled and chopped up three acres more:

my cleared acre I planted with potatoes, a little corn, and turnips: my stock consisted of a cow and yoke of steers three years old, with the management of which I was totally unacquainted when I bought them; but if a man will give his mind to any common thing of the kind, and not think it a hardship, it is surprising what he may do, as in this case after a few days I found no difficulty.

"I was now anxious to get my house made habitable as soon as possible, and a carpenter being employed not far off, I endeavoured to engage him to put in the windows and door; but finding that he wished to take advantage of my situation, I determined to do it myself, and thus was forced to learn the business of a carpenter. This I considered no hardship, as I had always been fond of the use of tools, and had, previous to my leaving England, taken several lessons in turning. During the summer, I got my house chinked, or filled the interstices between the logs with pieces of wood to make the inside flush or smooth, and to prevent the mud used as plaster on the outside from coming through. I then put in the windows and door, laid the floors, and partitioned off the lower part of the house into two good rooms, on wet days employing my man to dig a cellar under the house; in short, before the winter, I had made

the log-house comfortable within, and, with the addition of some white-wash, smart without.

"In August, we cut some coarse grass in a beaver meadow close by, sprinkling salt through the little stack as we made it; after this we logged up and cleared three acres of the land I had chopped, and by the latter end of September had it sown with wheat; the logging, though heavy, I did with my hired man and steers, and before the winter, had it fenced with rails. Here, it may be remarked, I did not get much land cleared, but by doing little, and that partly with my own hands, I gained experience; and I would strongly advise gentlemen settling in Canada with small means, to commence clearing slowly, and with as little expense as possible.

"In the fall, or autumn, I put up a log-kitchen, and a shed for my cattle; during the winter, I employed my man in chopping three acres more, in which I now and then assisted him, and soon became very expert in the use of the axe, felling the trees to the most advantage to assist their burning, and to save trouble in logging. With my beaver-meadow hay, and the fir tops of the fallen trees, my cattle were kept fat all the winter. In the spring, three acres more were cleared, fenced, and cropped with corn, potatoes, and turnips; and where log heaps had been burnt, the ashes were hoed off, and

planted with melons and cucumbers; a small patch was fenced off for a nursery, and apple seeds sown, trees which are now ten and twelve feet high. I also put out several of the wild plum-trees of the country, which now bear abundance of fine fruit. From this time, about five acres yearly have been added to my farm, taking great care, in clearing off my land, never to destroy a log that would make rails, by which means the fence always came off the field cleared; and although they are small —from four to six acres—the fences are all six feet or nine rails high. Here I will remark, it is a great fault to split rails small, an error that most new settlers persist in. In the spring of 1822, my attention was turned to making a flower and kitchen garden. Round the latter I made a straight fence with cedar posts, and thirteen rails high, which is at this day stocked with every kind of fruit tree to be had in the neighbourhood, which flourish beyond my expectation. My stock of animals has been gradually increasing, and to my other stock I have added horses and sheep, with poultry of all kinds.

"In the year 1825, I had repaid the money I borrowed, by leaving back a small part of my half pay every quarter, and had received a deed for 600 acres of my land, on which I had performed the settlement duty, which cost me L.30. My farm is now

increased to 36 acres. I have the deed for the remaining 200 acres of my land; also deeds for town and park lots in the rapidly-settling town of Peterborough; and, as my family have increased to six, and are growing up, I am just now about building a frame-house, 36 feet by 26 in the clear, two stories high, with a commodious kitchen behind, the timber and shingles for which I have bought by disposing of a mare, after using her for five years, and breeding a pair of horses from her. With my own exertions,—being able to do most of the carpenter's work inside,—and about L.100, I expect to get it finished.

"Some of my first chopped land is now nearly clear of stumps. I am planting out an orchard of apple-trees, raised from the seed sown by myself; have a good barn and stable, with various other offices;—in short, feel that I have surmounted every difficulty. A town is growing up near me, roads are improving, bridges are built; one of the best mills in the province is just finished at Peterborough, another within three miles of me. Boards, and all descriptions of lumber, are cheap —about five dollars 1000 feet, four saw-mills being in operation. Stores, a tannery, distillery, and many other useful businesses, are established, or on the eve of being so, at Peterborough; on the road to which, through Otanabee, the Land Com-

pany, the clergy, and some private individuals, have some of the best land in the province for sale, at from 7s. 6d. to 10s. per acre. The price of land generally, except on the roads, is about 5s. per acre.

"I was the first settler in the township, and almost before a tree was cut down; now there are nearly two thousand acres cleared, and 125 families, consisting of 500 souls. On parallel lines, at the distance of three quarters of a mile apart, roads, of from 33 to 66 feet wide, are cut and cleared out by the parties owning the land all through the township, which will ultimately be of the greatest benefit, and are so now to those settlers near them. They have been much cavilled at, and found fault with, by land speculators, and persons having large grants; but I never yet heard an actual settler complain of them. One great objection urged against them was, that a second growth of trees would spring up along these cleared avenues, or roads, and be worse than that removed; but, from strict observation, I find this fallacious, as the second growth is always a different wood, generally poplar, cherry, elder, &c., with sprouts from some of the old stumps, and so thick that they cannot come to any size; while every year there is destroying, by slow but sure means, stumps that will take 20 or 30 years to get rid of.

"I have now given an indifferent sketch of my settlement in the woods, from which, I think, it will be seen, that even a person not brought up to labour, and under many disadvantageous circumstances—such as going far back in a settlement, want of roads, bridges, mills, and society, and having a sum of money to repay—still it will be seen that, with a good heart, and an industrious turn, a gentleman of small income may better his situation. And I certainly will say, that any person with the same means, and who will turn his hand to any thing he can that is not dishonourable, will do well to follow the same course; and I think that such will not injure their country by leaving it. For example, while in England, on half pay, nearly all my income went for food; here it nearly all goes for clothing of British manufacture. My family is supported with respectability and comfort, having abundance of all the necessaries of life within my farm, and my pay enabling me to supply all other requisites. Here we can keep the door of hospitality open, without inconvenience, and find leisure to visit our friends, and enjoy ourselves in a pleasant way, keeping a pair of good horses, sleighs, &c. &c.

"Persons with families, as they have the most urgent reasons to migrate, so they will always make the best settlers. Their children can assist mate-

rially in the mode of farming pursued on wild land, and may do so without its being looked upon as a degradation. If they are well educated, there is little doubt of their advancement in the professions; and if not, they will be always sure of a provision by farming, as their parents may, with a moderate outlay, acquire property for them. As British goods of almost every description are now brought down to a moderate price, gentlemen coming out will do well not to stock themselves with more than they want for their own use, as they will find their money more useful than superfluous articles of any description; and such, with an income of from L.50 to L.200 a-year, with prudence, may live in the most comfortable and respectable way here, being able, by means of a farm, to supply the table with abundance, and to enjoy themselves at their leisure in as good society as can be found in most country towns in England. Indeed, were it not for the differences of fences, occasional dissight of old stumps, or dead standing trees, and now and then 'I guess,' a person in this neighbourhood can hardly fancy themselves in a foreign country.

"It is a great error, and to be lamented, that most gentlemen from the old country—as the United Kingdom is called—bring too much of their native prejudices with them here, by which means they often expend much money uselessly, and fre-

quently get into difficulties; and I have known some wholly fail from such imprudence. It is from such that unfavourable accounts of this country originate. I think it should be a rule for persons coming to a new country, always first to follow the customs of that country as closely as possible, reserving their improvements till they get firmly established, and see good reason to apply them. It should generally be an object for gentlemen, if they settle in new townships, to endeavour to get near another, or others, of character already settled; as by this means they will have a good chance to be set in the right way, and thereby saved from much imposition, besides the pleasure of having at hand a friend, and society suited to their taste. As land may be bought at very easy rates and price—seven, and even ten years allowed to pay it in—it will be preferable for a gentleman, or any person with small means, to purchase near settlements, or on main roads, as they will thereby avoid many difficulties I had to contend with.

"Having been in the neighbourhood of the last emigrants brought out by the Honourable Peter Robinson, who deserves the highest praise for his humanity, consideration, and care in settling them, and having read some of the Reports of the Committee on Emigration, I beg leave to offer an idea that strikes me on the subject. From observation,

I think the Government did too much for those already out, and still the Committee propose to do too much for any that may be sent out; they are not left to find resources from their own industry and energy. While the rations last, many of the emigrants make little exertion, and dispose of food they have not been used to, such as pork, for whisky, thereby injuring their constitutions and morals, and fixing for a time habits of idleness. Let the settlers be put on their land with a shanty up; give a family of five persons, five barrels of flour and one of pork, with two axes and two hoes, and, with this assistance, let them work their way. During the time Mr Robinson's last settlers were getting rations, labourers' wages were higher than they had ever been known except during the war. This certainly would not have been the case if they had been less lavishly supplied. An able-bodied man that is industrious, will never want for work in Upper Canada: and, if he will work, he will in a very short time get himself a cow, grain, potatoes, &c. &c.

"Although this part of the province is very rapidly improving, still it would increase in population and riches in a tenfold degree, was the water communication opened with Lake Ontario by a canal on part of the River Trent. An immense extent of country from Peterborough, on the Ota-

nabee River, to the Bay of Quinté,—which is a part of Ontario,—comprising some of the richest land in the province, would then be settled and cultivated, having a decided advantage over the front; and the flour, grain, pork, lumber, potash, and staves, that would go down, must make this district greatly superior to any other in this province. It is not to be doubted that, independent of the tolls, the inhabitants, within a range likely to benefit by so desirable an outlet, would willingly consent to pay an assessment in proportion to the quantity of land they hold. This will readily be seen, when it is known that in the article of wheat, there is 3d. or 6d. a-bushel less given for it north of the Rice Lake, and the same in proportion for other produce, with an equal loss to the settler on every kind of goods he purchases.

"That the Government are well aware of the great advantage, in a military point of view, in case of a war, of such a communication, I have no doubt; and I cannot be so presumptuous as to point out why it would be so, in stating that large quantities of produce, &c. will go down the Trent which now has to be taken by land to Lake Ontario; I will merely state, that this last winter very nearly 5000 bushels of wheat have been taken in by the store-keepers at Peterborough alone. Only three or four years ago flour was transported back there,

so that no doubt can exist of the increased quantity a few years will produce. Through the goodness and paternal consideration of his Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, an excellent mill has been erected at Peterborough, which is the greatest blessing to the settler and the country, and will be the means of the adjacent townships filling up rapidly. In the town itself, which less than three years ago had but one solitary house in it, now may be seen frame-houses in every direction, and this summer 20 additional ones will be erected.

"Respectable yeomen, or small farmers, having sufficient to settle themselves and support their families, if they go on wild land for two years, will, with industry, always do well. Certainly, having L.100 clear when they have paid a seventh of the purchase money for 200 acres, they will, before that sum is expended, raise sufficient for their future maintenance; but in all cases, much of what is required depends on what persons have been used to, and the sacrifices they will make for a short time, to acquire property and become independent. Mechanics of all descriptions will do well, and indeed any one used to labour, or who will be industrious. Some of the best settlers in this township were at home weavers. But tradesmen, or shop-keepers of ruined fortune, if they do ill at home, will do worse here; and let all persons

who will not put their hand to every thing, who feel discouraged at trifles, and who expect any thing like a life of idleness, beware how they make the trial of settling in a new country. My opinions are founded on observation and practical knowledge, and in giving them, though in a very homely and jumbled manner, still I have endeavoured to give the true statement, and, I trust, just recommendations; and I shall feel gratified and happy, if Captain Hall can cull any thing from what I have written that may benefit the public or a single individual, or be the means of doing even a small good to this happy and thriving province.

"I remain, sir,

"Yours most truly."

Before taking leave of this subject altogether, I feel it almost a duty to give the following letter upon some topics connected with the question of emigration, which, it may be observed, must for a long time continue one of great importance to the United Kingdom.

I would not have occupied so great a portion of space with these letters, had I not, from personal acquaintance and other sources of information, the most entire confidence in the local knowledge, the good faith, and the patriotism of the writers. These remarks apply with particular force to the judicious

friend to whom I am indebted for the following remarks; and I am not without hopes that his suggestions may have their effect in those quarters in which the power resides of giving them practical efficacy.

"Cobourg, Upper Canada, May 30th, 1828.

"My dear Sir,

"In your last letter to me, of the 18th of February, you advert to an observation I formerly made relative to the mixture of Scotch and English emigrants with those from Ireland; and as you do me the honour to request the grounds of my opinions, I take the opportunity of communicating them before your intended return to Europe shall take place. It must be obvious to those who have had an opportunity of observing the progress of newly peopled countries, that whenever a tract has been settled almost exclusively by one description of persons, that the settlement which they form has retained for many generations, in a very great measure, the habits, whether good or bad, of the original emigrants. This, I understand, is peculiarly the case, up to the present day, in the United States. It is exemplified in the industrious and thriving Dutch and Germans; in the highly moral conduct, superadded to the persevering industry of the New Englanders, who left their home from

higher motives than the mere personal support of their families; in the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and in many other instances which might be adduced. My attention was drawn very particularly to this subject, by having occasion lately to pass through the township of Cavan, which was settled about nine years since for the most part by distressed Irish, from the State of New York. They were, to the credit of the British Government, kindly assisted in reaching this province, and provided with lands upon their arrival. They appear to be a happy, contented people, firmly attached to the Government from which they have experienced so much kindness, and abounding with the necessaries of life; but from wanting, originally, the habits of more civilized society, they have little of that about them to which we usually attach the term comfort.

"Their log-houses are low and inconvenient, rather too much approaching to the Irish cabin, and their farm buildings of the same character. This, of course, is liable to many exceptions, even amongst the Irish; but I have reason to believe the greater part of these exceptions to be amongst the Scotch and English. Upon conversing with a gentleman upon the subject, he said, that he had made the same remark in respect to the township of Glengary, peopled principally in the early days of

the province by Scottish Highlanders. He described them as a loyal and moral people; but not being possessed of the patient industry of the Lowland Scotch, their dwellings and farms did not evince those appearances which characterise a thriving and fast improving population. This, being himself from the Highlands, he attributed to their roving habits, leading them to prefer the adventurous life of the lumber trade to the more peaceful occupations of their farms. If such be the case in the above quoted instances, there is strong reason to expect it to be the same if large bodies of Roman Catholic Irish should be located together; a people who, hitherto, and from causes beyond their own control, have been almost proverbial for the absence of habits of regular industry, and for the neglect of the comforts and the decencies of life. The experiments hitherto made by the beneficence of Government, have shown satisfactorily, that they are capable of much improvement by colonisation. The apathy brought on by their former hopeless situation, is, for the most part, exchanged for habitual industry, by the necessity of constant exertion, and the certainty of bettering their condition. And what is of no small importance, they feel and express a grateful attachment to the good King who sanctioned, and to the Government which has effected, so beneficial a change in their circumstances.

"But all this is not without its alloy. There is perhaps more idleness and dissipation at the recurrence of every opportunity, than would take place amongst persons of another description; and, as I understand from gentlemen residing in the midst of them, a party spirit is creeping in, which is likely to increase with the improvement of their circumstances, and their opportunities of leisure. It might be rationally concluded, that these now existing and anticipated evils would be obviated by a mixture of the Lowland Scotch and English settlers along with the Irish. The economical, industrious, and moral turn of the natives of Scotland, would lead the way to success; and the custom of the English of vesting their gains in the comforts and decencies of life, would teach the proper enjoyment of that success when attained.

"These circumstances, with the aid of constant intercourse and consequent intermarriages, would effect a sensible and beneficial, though silent change in the parties requiring it, without the danger of contamination, as that would be counteracted by the necessity of exertion in all; and those who, after all these chances to the contrary, should at last be irreclaimable, would sink into their proper station, that of labourers for their deservedly more fortunate neighbours. The success that has attended the plans hitherto adopted, may lead one

confidently to hope, nay even to assert, that under certain modifications, such as observation and experience shall from time to time dictate, thousands, and tens of thousands of our fellow subjects, whose existence is now a burden to themselves, and to their country, may be converted into a prosperous and loyal population, attached, from feelings of gratitude, and from those still stronger, of interest, to a Government which shall have raised them from indigence to comparative wealth, attended by the dignified circumstance of being the founders of a great and happy people.

"Although, perhaps, singular in intruding these opinions upon your notice, I am not singular in entertaining them, as the accompanying enclosures will testify; and I may confidently say, that such are the sentiments of all the thinking men of this district, who have had an opportunity of witnessing the progress of the Irish settlement. The highly judicious and benevolent step taken by the Provincial Government in the erection of a saw and grist mill, has been productive of the best consequences. Stores have been erected near the mills, which have placed the comforts of life within reach of the settlers, and of course these exertions will be in proportion to the stimulus thus afforded. It is a measure that cannot be too earnestly recommended in every future condensed set-

tlement, and should always be considered as a primary step. Thereby the new comers are enabled to build commodiously and cheaply, and are certain of an immediate market for the first produce that they can spare, with the additional motive to industry in the exhibition of the goods of the merchants, whose stores always accompany the erection of a superior grist mill.

"I cannot leave this interesting subject, in which the happiness and welfare of so many thousands are likely to be concerned, without offering for consideration a measure calculated materially to promote the desired effect. It is essentially necessary, if the emigration should proceed upon an extended scale, to break through that uniformity of circumstances and station, that must inevitably attend the location of a large body of paupers only. This end, it is probable, might be obtained with no further expense to the mother country, than a passage in the Government vessels, and a free grant of land proportionable to bona fide property of the emigrant. This encouragement may be held out in order to secure a limited number for each new township, withholding the confirmation of the grant, until the condition of a certain number of years' residence shall be fulfilled. The new settlement would then at its outset possess its distinctions of rank, its magistracy and upper class; the gran-

tees would find labourers amongst the eldest sons of the poorer emigrants, and these again would become possessed of a little money, and with it the means of purchasing many a little comfort, of which they would otherwise be deprived.

"Persons resident in Great Britain can have no idea of the inconvenience, frequently amounting to distress, experienced in Upper Canada, from the almost entire absence of a circulating medium; and perhaps it may appear singular to assert, that any measure calculated to introduce capital, and promote its circulation, would confer a benefit upon the province almost commensurate with that likely to accrue to Great Britain, from the conversion of the distressed part of her population, into the colonial customers of those who shall remain at home. If ample encouragement were held out to fathers of families in the possession of income or capital, but without good prospects for their children, this, with addition of a domestic market for the produce occasioned by the annual influx of the poorer emigrants under Government auspices, would bid fair to remedy the above mentioned evil, and to render Upper Canada as prosperous and happy a country as any in the world.

"I remain, my dear sir,

"Truly yours."

After returning to Cobourg from visiting the emigrants, we proceeded straight to Kingston, the principal English naval station on the lakes. We had sundry minor adventures by the way, which I have not leisure to give in great detail.

On coming through the woods, after leaving Rice Lake, one of our vehicles broke down twice. On the first occasion, we managed, by splicing the harness and fishing the shaft, to get again under weigh; but at the second disaster, when the waggon was undergoing such repair as we could give it on the road, the horse, taking advantage of the pause, slipped off, and left one of the gentlemen and me to walk in the rain and mud for six miles —severe discipline for tired wayfarers.

In the course of the next morning, when we were driving in the stage-coach up a very steep part of the road, between Cobourg and the Bay of Quinté, the irons drew off the ends of the main bar, and away ran the leaders. On level ground this would have been of no consequence; but at this particular spot it had nearly proved fatal to us all. The wheel-horses had not strength to keep the carriage from gathering fresh stern-way; so down we backed at a most alarming rate. A high bank of earth rose above the road on the right hand, up the sides of which the wheels on that side were just beginning to mount, whereby we must inevitably

have been upset, when, fortunately, we were stopped in our descent, by means we could not have reckoned upon.

An American was driving up the hill behind us, in a single horse waggon, and seeing the apparition of a great stage-coach bearing down upon him, he tried, of course, to rein back his horse, and to get out of our way. Fortunately, however, for us, the animal was bamboozled by the uproar, and refused to budge an inch, so that we came full upon the waggon, and, the wheels getting locked, we were stopped in our career. Jonathan, with characteristic skill and promptitude, leaped from his conveyance, flew to the opposite side of the road, and snatching from the snake fence the upper rail or bar, ran back again to the entangled vehicles, and by dashing the piece of wood, like a spear, right across from one hind wheel of the stage to the other, effectually arrested both, and, having thus prevented our farther descent, easily withdrew his own little waggon.

In our passage in the steam-boat down the beautiful Bay of Quinté, an extensive set of winding, narrow inlets, all connected with Lake Ontario, we were struck at one place by the appearance of an extensive tract of country, where not a single tree appeared as yet to have been cut down. This we learnt, on enquiry, was land belonging to Indians,

and reserved exclusively for them. Nothing could place in a stronger light the difference between savage and civilized life, than the contrast between the two opposite shores of this singular bay, distant about a couple of miles from each other. The one glowing with fertility, and busy with population—the other sleeping in a state of vegetable nature, or with only here and there a village of birch-bark wigwams, thinly inhabited by a dirty set of red-faced inhabitants, dressed in blankets, and smeared over with tallow and red ochre.

On the 28th of July, we reached Kingston, where we found ourselves most comfortably lodged in the house of Commodore Barrie, the commanding officer on the lakes; for though he was absent, his residence in the dock-yard had been prepared for us a week before, and we took possession of it accordingly, as a matter of course, at the suggestion of the officer next in authority. Such are the friendly usages of the naval service. And although I had no personal acquaintance with the officer in question, it would have been considered unkind on my part, and almost disrespectful, not to have made his house my own, when thus placed at my disposal.

Naval officers are certainly much scattered over the face of the globe; but, somehow or other, whether from the extent of their intercourse with every

description of society, the similarity of their duties generally, or from something genial breathed in with the free atmosphere of the ocean, there seems to be a compactness of fellowship amongst them, a heartiness of professional friendship, in short, which knits them together, especially in foreign lands, in a manner more decided, I think, than is to be recognised in most other walks of life. It matters little whether or not they have met before;—their character and services, respectively, are always sufficiently known to answer the purposes of introduction; and as the range of their topics embraces the whole earth, or, at all events, the whole sea, and the coasts which line it, from Indus to the Pole,—they never run aground for want of interesting subjects of conversation.

After this very long and fatiguing journey of 473 miles, from Niagara to Kingston, we felt ourselves entitled to a good rest, and did scarcely any thing else but eat, drink, and sleep, till the 30th of July. We then put ourselves on board the steam-boat Queenstown, and in thirty-six hours, after calling at York, and going the whole length of Lake Ontario, again reached Niagara, a distance by water of somewhat more than 200 miles.

CHAPTER XII.

On the 1st of August, 1827, I drove once more to the Falls, intending merely to bid good-by to them, and come away. I therefore left the carriage at the top of the bank, and said to the coachman that he need not take out his horses, but wait in the shade before the inn, till I came up again from the Table Rock. This was at noon, but it was not till three o'clock that I could disentangle myself from the scene. Indeed, to speak without exaggeration or affectation, I must own, that upon this visit—the last, in all human probability, I shall ever pay to these Falls, I was almost overwhelmed —if that be the proper word to use—with the grandeur of this extraordinary spectacle. I felt, as it were, staggered and confused, and at times experienced a sensation bordering on alarm—I did not well know at what—a strong mysterious sort of impression that something dreadful might happen. At one moment I looked upon myself as

utterly insignificant in the presence of such a gigantic, moving, thundering body—and in the next, was puffed up with a sort of pride and arrogant satisfaction, to think that I was admitted into such company, and that I was not altogether wasting the opportunity:—at others I gave up the reins of my imagination altogether, and then tried to follow, but with no great success, some of the innumerable trains of wild and curious reflections which arose in consequence—though, after all, nothing can be conceived more vague than those wandering thoughts, except it be their present ghostlike recollection.

During these three hours, which I am disposed to reckon as the most interesting of my whole life, my mind was often brought back from such fanciful vagaries with a sudden start—only, however, to relapse again and again. More than once I really almost forgot where I was, and became more than half unconscious that I saw millions on millions of tons of water dashing down before me at every second, at the distance of only a few yards;—and even ceased to recollect that the sound I heard came from the greatest cascade in the world. Still, however, in spite of these abstractions—which I made no attempt to restrain—I was all the while sensible that something very delightful was passing.

The effect of this mighty cataract upon the mind, might perhaps be worthy of the attention of a metaphysician. With me, at least, the influence of one overpowering but indefinite sensation at times absorbed the active operation of the senses, and produced a kind of dizzy reverie, more or less akin to sleep, or rather to the intoxication described by opium eaters, during which a thousand visions arose connected with the general sentiment of sublimity. And it may help to give some idea of the extravagant length to which the over-indulged fancy can carry the dreamer on such occasions, to mention that once, for some seconds, I caught myself thinking that I had fairly left this lower world for the upper sky,—that I was traversing the Heavens in company with Sir Isaac Newton,—and that the Sage was just going to tell me about the distance of the fixed stars!

The awakening, if so it may be called, from these roving commissions of the mind, to the stupendous reality, so far from being accompanied by the disappointment which usually attends the return voyage from these distant regions in the world of fancy, was gratifying far beyond what I remember to have experienced upon any former occasion, during a life of pretty constant and high enjoyment.

This, and a hundred other extravagancies which I could add upon the subject, however absurd they

must of course seem in sober prose, may possibly give some notion of the effect produced by looking at the Falls of Niagara—an effect analogous, perhaps, to that produced on the mind of the poet by ordinary circumstances, but which less imaginative mortals are made conscious of, only on very extraordinary occasions.

On the 2d of August, we left these exciting scenes, and recrossed Lake Ontario in a very crowded, overloaded steam-boat, and landed, for the second time, at Kingston, on the 3d day of August, in the morning. It was fortunate that we reached our destination before dark, for in the early part of the night it blew such a furious gale from the south-west, as our boat could not possibly have weathered in the open lake. If I am to have a seaman's grave, I must say that I should prefer going down respectably in blue water, to being drowned like a kitten in a pond.

After visiting the English dock-yard at Kingston, where there were two first-rate line-of-battle ships on the stocks, and several frigates nearly ready for launching, I felt anxious to take a look at Sackett's Harbour, the American naval station, which lies also at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. Accordingly, on the morning of the 6th of August, I crossed the northern branch of the River St Lawrence in a four-oared gig to Long Island,

which lies nearly in the middle of this immense stream. Here I got a waggon, and was rattled for about seven miles over a turnpike, as they called it—Corduroy, however—to the southern side of the island, or that which faces the American shore. The ferry-boat had been taken over the water in quest of a doctor. I don't know a more hopeless predicament for a traveller, or one where he feels his resources so completely exhausted, and sometimes also his patience, than at a ferry where there is no boat. When I did get across at last, I had the mortification to learn that the stage had just started.

The waves from Lake Ontario were rolling into Sackett's Harbour quite in oceanic style, and I had the discomfort of getting soundly ducked in crossing to the navy-yard. I had plenty of daylight, however, for examining at leisure the large three-decked ship which is on the stocks there. It is said that she was built in thirty-one days from the time the first tree was cut down; and I met an American gentleman on the spot, who told me he had been present at the time when this singular operation was accomplished. An immense number of shipbuilders, it seems, all expert workmen, were sent from New York, and other seaport towns. These were assisted by an unlimited number of labouring hands, teams of oxen, horses,

carts, and so on. In a couple of weeks more, he told me, she might have been launched, and all her guns, masts, and sails on board, ready for action. The treaty of Ghent put a stop to these proceedings; and as it was stipulated by an article in that instrument that neither party should have a force on the lakes, these great ships, both at Sackett's and at Kingston, have come to serve no further end, in the meantime, than the innocent purpose of amusing the perennial crowds of Cockney tourists, who escape in autumn from the Malaria of the southern and middle states, and fill up the time by taking the well-beaten round of the Falls, the Lakes, and the Springs of Saratoga.

The great American ship above alluded to, is built of oak in all the essential parts, and is filled up in others with red cedar. As far as I could judge, this vessel seems to be put together, notwithstanding the hurry, in a very business-like style. She is covered over with an immense house, or shed, which looks, at a distance, like the forest-dwelling of some inhabitant of the earth, the giant contemporary—if any such there were—of the Mammoth and Megalosaurus.

The town of Sacketts has a stand-still look about it, which leads one to suspect that, as its rise was certainly owing to the War, its fall is traceable to the judicious article of the treaty of Ghent men-

tioned above. Had there been no such stipulation, rival fleets would have been maintained on the lakes to beard and plague one another, and keep both nations in perpetual hot-water, while no mortal would have been benefitted, except the worthy inhabitants of Sacketts.

A bright moon, within one day of the full, enabled me to retrace great part of the way to Kingston that night. Next morning, the 7th of August, I started very early, but it was not till eight o'clock that I reached the ferry-house on Long Island, opposite to Kingston. The river St Lawrence is here about three miles wide, but as it flows past with a current scarcely perceptible, I calculated upon getting to the Commissioner's house in the course of an hour, just in time, as I hoped, for breakfast, for which the keen morning air, and several hours' journey, had brought me into excellent condition. The ferryman, urged by my impatient entreaties, accompanied me to the beach, when lo! there was no boat. A jackanapes of an idle fellow had taken away the skiff, without leave or license, although we could just see him at a distance, in the centre of the stream, spearing fish. But we waved our hats and hallooed to him in vain.

"Is there no boat, or punt, or any thing to be had!" I exclaimed, in the vehemence of hunger.

"No, sir, none," said the ferryman.

"Why, what's that?" I asked.

"O," said he, "that's a rotten shell of a skiff, so leaky she would fill with water in ten minutes."

"I don't know that," I cried; "let me have a look at her. I know something of these matters, or I have swam in a gondola to little purpose. Come! where is your vessel?"

Away we marched—tossed the crazy bark into the St Lawrence, and stood by to watch the effect. Sure enough, report had not belied her qualities, for in a few minutes she was half full.

The good woman of the ferry-house had by this time become anxious to assist, as far as she could, probably supposing from my eagerness that I was hurrying over to see a dying relation, or mayhap, escaping from justice; whereas I was merely thinking of the good things waiting for me, and which I now began to despair of seeing this morning. On hearing me say to the boatman that if I had any sort of machine to bale with, I would answer for keeping the skiff clear of water, the damsel disappeared for a moment, and returned, bearing in her hand a large tin pudding dish. This was exactly the thing wanted. The ferryman smiled, but made no objections, and away we started, though the water squirted through the seams. A poor old negro, whose woolly head was turned to grey, though scarcely able to move, begged to be

taken in, and offered to give me a spell when I became tired. By dint of hard labour, the old gentleman and I managed to keep the boat tolerably free, though our work was frequently interrupted by laughing at the odd nature of our predicament, squatted in the water, cheek by jowl, in the bottom of a punt, and baling away for dear life!

In process of time, we succeeded in boarding the pirate, who had run off with the ferryboat. He was standing up on the bow of his skiff, with the fish spear in his hand, and looking almost as coolly at us, as if he had been guilty of no crime. But we soon taught him another story, and executed summary justice both upon him and his companion, by exchanging boats—tumbling the culprits very unceremoniously from one vessel to the other, with a hint to them as we parted, to make good use of the pudding dish.

We had now leisure to look about us, and the first thing I did was to get my old companion's history. He had been all his life, he said, a slave, near Albany, in the state of New York, till the 4th of July, 1827, about a month before, when he became free by a law of that State; and now, that he was entirely unfit for work, he had been turned to the right about, and had wandered thus far, without a farthing of money, in order to look for his two sons, who he believed were somewhere in Canada.

I never saw a more desolate or helpless object in my life,—and I was just thinking that it would have been no great loss to the world or to himself, if our invaluable pudding dish had failed us, and the skiff gone to the bottom—when my eye was arrested by a group of people on the beach near the dockyard at Kingston, consisting partly of men and partly of women, all of whom, and especially the females, seemed eagerly gazing on a dark-coloured mass lying on the shore. There was something in the huddled attitude of the party, and the form of the mass round which they were standing, that recalled, though I could not well say wherefore, some extremely painful feelings. In the next instant, I caught a glimpse of a little touch of red cloth at one end of the object which engaged so much attention, and it then flashed across my mind, that this must be the body of a young soldier, who had been drowned in our sight under the windows of the Commissioner's house, on the evening we arrived from Niagara.

On the 8th of August, I embarked, with my family party, in a Batteau which had brought up Government stores from Montreal, and was about to return empty. These Batteaux are strongly built open boats, about forty feet in length by eight at their extreme width, and are rowed by four oars, besides one at the stern, which not only

steers, but helps to propel them by skulling. They carry a lug-sail with about fifteen feet of hoist, set upon a mast consisting of a rough pole, with a spare oar lashed to the upper end to make it longer. The haulyards are passed over a niche cut in the blade of this oar, in lieu of a block. In our Batteau, the foot as well as the head of the sail was stretched along a yard or boom, the middle of which was lashed to the mast by a worn-out sash, which one of the Voyageurs said he had got from a sergeant of the 68th regiment. This rude sail was trimmed or kept in its proper position, not in the usual way, by a sheet and tack, but by means of two of the long spars, used on the upward voyage, in poling the Batteau against the stream. In order, also, to enable the steersman to have a clear view all round, the foot of the sail was raised about five feet above the boat.

These Batteaux, when loaded with five or six tons, or, say from forty to fifty barrels of flour, draw about twenty inches of water. They are flat-bottomed, nearly perpendicular in the sides, and formed alike at stem and stern, which turn up in sharp wh[illegible]s about a foot higher than the rest of the boat. Upon the whole, they are clumsy-looking but efficient boats.

The dockyard officers were good enough to fix up, for our accommodation, a most comfortable

hurricane-house, as it is called, in the boat, of a light frame-work covered with canvass. Under this we spread our travelling bed as a sofa, and thus passed down the whole series of Rapids on the St Lawrence, lying between Lake Ontario and La Chine on the island of Montreal. Nothing could be more prosperous than the first part of our passage, and we skimmed merrily along, with the stream in our favour, amongst the Thousand Islands, as they are called, with a brisk fair wind, also, to help the current.

Towards sunset, the sky became suddenly overcast by a thunder-cloud, upon which the Voyageurs, as these boatmen are called, held a council of war, in a corrupted, or perhaps antiquated, sort of French, of which I understood very few words; the result was, the expediency of rowing into a nook, or cove, where a little brook escaped from the woods, and leaped into the St Lawrence.

When I begged to know the meaning of this movement, they said, that as the night would be stormy, it would be prudent to remain where we then were, as there was no place, after the mill we had now come to, within 15 miles, where we could get any shelter for the Batteau. I—who, by the by knew really nothing of the matter—was of a different opinion, and told them so. They shook their heads, looked rather amused, but still went on

making preparations for staying all night. As the Batteau had been put expressly under my orders, I thought this a good occasion to ascertain how far my authority was nominal or real, and therefore insisted peremptorily upon their putting off again, "unless," as I said, "Messieurs, you are the masters, and not me."

The appeal produced its effect. They turned about, saying, with a shrug of the shoulders, and a glance to the lowering sky, that it was all the same to a Voyageur where he was when it rained or blew, but that for ladies and children it was far better to avoid exposure on such a night, than to court it. "Nevertheless," added they, "as you wish it, we shall put off."

We had not gone 150 yards, however, before the thunder-cloud broke close to us, with such a peal as I have seldom heard; and I was fain to make the amende honorable, by acknowledging my ignorance, and confessing that I had done wrong in despising the recommendation of such experienced guides. I begged them to row back again as hard as they could, which they did with great cheerfulness, and, with the characteristic politeness of all who speak their language, without the slightest show of triumph or reproach. But, before we got to the landing place, there came on a shower of hailstones, as big as nuts, by which we were so

finely pelted for our obstinacy, that we thought ourselves fortunate to find shelter in an old cow-shed. I certainly never saw any thing like this hail before. When the storm had passed, and the moon was shining out again, we made our way up a rocky winding path, through a wood, along the sides of a valley, which brought us to an extensive saw-mill, the proprietor of which welcomed us most cheerfully, and begged us to walk in, saying, that he was always happy to see people from the Old Country.

We were all stowed away in one little box of a room, in which we had just space enough to put up the travelling bed; but most improvidently we omitted to spread the mosquito curtain, and in consequence of this neglect, for many weeks afterwards the young traveller's countenance told a miserable story. There are no moments, I believe, when people are so apt to reprobate their own folly in leaving their snug homes, as when attacked by such annoyances as these—miscalled the minor ills of life! I was told in Louisiana of a man who gave up a good appointment there, for no other reason than the numbers of mosquitoes which infested the Mississippi. He was a man of sense—and for my part, I have often, at such moments, been upon the very verge of forswearing all voyages and travels for the rest of my life.

On the 9th of August, we reached Brockville, a prettily situated town on the left or Canadian side of the river. Here we thought of taking a day's rest—a resolution which was confirmed by meeting a gentleman we had seen at the Falls, who introduced us to a friend of his residing at Brockville; and upon this slight acquaintance—such is the fashion of the country—he insisted upon our coming up to his house, bag and baggage. We were nothing loath, considering the species of entertainment we had enjoyed the night before.

A public dinner was given on this very day to a gentleman who had just been raised to the bench, and I considered myself fortunate in having such an opportunity of meeting many of the principal persons not only of the immediate neighbourhood, but of the Province generally. I was the more anxious not to let slip this opportunity of seeing the higher classes of the Canadian society, from recollecting some insinuations in Parliament, that the inhabitants of Canada were not so loyally disposed as might be wished.

The result of all my observations, however, satisfied me completely, that whatever differences there might be in that country on party topics of a local nature, or even on those subjects which had reference to England, there appeared but one feeling in every breast, of substantial, hearty attach-

ment to the mother country. The manifestations of this sentiment were too numerous and decided to be mistaken; and as I have a fair opportunity of making this statement, I feel it right to all parties concerned to say, that the occasional expressions of distrust to which I have alluded, are not only unjust, but most ungenerous, to as loyal subjects as any whom his Majesty reigns over.

My health was given in the course of the evening by the Attorney General, and, according to the usage of the Old Country, I was obliged to make a speech in reply to the fine things said on the occasion. While I was cudgelling my brains to think of something to say, it suddenly occurred to me to go a little out of the beaten track, in order to try the effect of some of the notions which had been put into my head, by the last two or three months' intercourse with the new people and new things, amongst which I had been living. After the usual flourishes and excuses, therefore, I took occasion to remark, that "Although I had the honour to be a servant of his Majesty, I held myself, for all that, to be as independent as any man can or ought to be.

"It appears to me, gentlemen," I went on to say, "that the words dependence and independence, are sometimes not a little misunderstood.

For my part, I consider that no thoroughly independent man is worth a fig."

Here my speech was interrupted by an ambiguous sort of laugh, and I could see a puzzled expression playing on the countenances of many of my audience.

"Who amongst this company," I asked, "is strictly independent? I presume there are married men here? The laws give the husband the authority—I grant that—but what man on earth can say he is independent of his wife?"

Here the laugh was less ambiguous.

"The usage of society is to call one person superior, the other inferior; but who can say that he is independent more or less on the good-will, or the good temper, of his partner, his children, or even his servants? What parent, who now hears me, is not dependent on those very children over whom he pretends to exercise such absolute authority?

"After all, however, these things are just as they should be; like every other part of the relations of society, they are but links in that great and mysterious chain which holds us all together. The truth is, there cannot, and ought not to be, any such thing as entire independence. The whole scheme of human nature consists in mutual obligation, and mutual compromises, or, in other words,

in mutual dependence and mutual sacrifice; and the greatness and happiness of England and of her flourishing Colonies, would soon be at an end if this were not true.

"I don't mean of course to say, that this obligation between man and man, or between colony and parent state, is always exactly equal in degree, though it may still be strictly mutual. For example, if I were to take it into my head, like Tom Thumb, to swear I would be a rebel, and decline his Majesty's further employment, I don't conceive the King would be quite so ill off, as I should be, were his Majesty, on the other hand, to signify that he had no further occasion for my services. But, if the whole Navy were to turn traitors, and withdraw themselves in a body, the mutual nature of these obligations would for a time, undoubtedly, be felt in the highest quarter;—though, in the end, I guess, we should be the losers.

"I fear, gentlemen, you might say I meant to be personal, if I were to make out any analogy between the absurd-looking case I have just put, and that of England and the Canadas. But as there is a more apposite illustration near at hand, I shall say no more than beg you will study it, for your own edification.

"What is true of individuals, is not less true of nations; and though it be the customary form of

speech to say, that the mother country is over the province, these are mere words—mere pieces of courtesy in language;—for the dependence is strictly and essentially mutual, and the relative obligations are, to all intents and purposes, the same. Nothing, therefore, I think, can be more idle than what is sometimes said on this subject, by people on both sides of the Atlantic, and on both sides of the frontier I am now looking at out of the window. I am convinced, in short, that a colony, in relation to the mother country, may perform all its duties to the parent state—all the duties that can ever be required of her by any rational, or truly parental statesman, and yet be as thoroughly independent as any country in the world.

"It has been my good fortune to visit many countries, and to see governments of all known denominations, and all ages; from that of China, which has existed as it stands for some thousands of years, to that of Peru, of which I witnessed the very birth—and a queer-looking political baby it was! It has also fallen in my way to see another description of infant, which, as you well know, was of age on the day it was born, but whether it has grown older or younger, stronger or weaker, by time, I leave you to judge. Amongst all these different countries, I have seen very few which unite so many advantages as Canada—

where the soil—the climate, and what is vastly more valuable, the public government, and the tone of private manners, are so well calculated to advance the happiness of mankind. You are not yet so unfortunate as to be independent of England, in the ordinary acceptation of the term—neither is she of you; but you are much better off—you are allied, heart and hand—a glorious privilege, I am sure, you must feel it to be—with a great and free country;—you have an equally free constitution—you have hardly any taxes—and you have ample health and wealth, long, I trust, to endure—and last, though not least, you have got a very excellent Attorney-General, whose health I now beg leave to propose, with three times three!"

We left Brockville on the 10th of August, and in about an hour and a half entered the first Rapid, called Les Gallopes, pronounced by the Voyageurs Galoup, or Galoo. There was a very perceptible descent in the surface of the river, at the commencement, by no means unlike that of the Thames under the old London Bridge when the arch was shot, as they used to say, at about half, or three quarters ebb. And, indeed, the whole stages of the Rapid are not ill represented, on a small scale, by the ticklish operation alluded to of shooting the bridge. For a minute or two be-

fore reaching the spot, we could see the fall, or step, quite distinctly—a smooth, broad bend in the surface like the swell in a calm at sea. No motion was perceptible in the boat till we glided over the edge of this water-bank, as it might be called, and descended several feet to a lower level. At these moments I generally felt slightly sea-sick. After slipping down this curve, or step, the Batteau entered a broken space of water occasioned by the fall, and was often swung nearly round in spite of the utmost exertions of the crew, rowing hard on one side and backing their oars on the other. In this way we were tumbled about, very unpleasantly, from side to side, for several hundred yards, with a quick, abrupt, uneasy kind of motion; while the little, curling, angry sort of waves kicked and cuffed us about, and splashed the water smartly against the sides of the boat, from which it was thrown off in jets to a considerable distance on all hands. I took notice that the waves in these Rapids generally curled and broke up the stream, against the course of the river, not downwards, of which, I think, I saw a good explanation.

Before it became dark we had passed the Long Sault, or Long Soo, as they pronounce it, and a great many other minor Rapids, varying in steepness, but all of them exceedingly curious. I should

say that the velocity of the stream at these points never exceeds eight miles an hour, if it ever reaches that, which I do not think it does. Generally speaking, it may go at about six miles an hour, probably. But even this rate, when the bottom is much inclined, and either covered with stones, or broken by steps for a mile or two at a time, makes a commotion sufficiently formidable; especially at places where, in consequence of the banks approaching each other, the whole river is compressed into a narrow channel. At such places the water boils, and breaks, and roars, not unlike the sea over a ledge of rocks—a scene pregnant with associations of the most unpleasant kind to a seaman.

Just in proportion as we became acquainted with these Rapids, I think we learnt to respect them. The guide-books, of course, make them out to be very terrible monsters;—but then, all guide-books lie so horribly, one does not know what to trust to; and their verbose phraseology rather stimulates incredulity, than furnishes information. The first two or three we passed over without any very unpleasant feelings. But after having leisure to look about us, and to consider the inevitable nature of the danger, should any thing happen to go wrong, we viewed them with far more awe; and long before we had done with the St Law-

rence, were forced to confess that a Rapid was a very respectable lion in its way.

The first time I crossed the celebrated surf at Madras, in the Massullah boat, I thought it rather good fun; but after making about forty or fifty experiments, I looked upon it with very different feelings. Old soldiers are said to experience something of this kind in the case of cold iron, whether in the shape of round shot or sharp bayonets, which are said to rise greatly in their respect the more intimate their acquaintance.

The twilight was just leaving us when we disentangled ourselves from the last of a string of Rapids, or successive steps, over which the river had been finding its way for many leagues. This series, as I have mentioned before, the boatmen told us went by the name of the Long Sault; but I afterwards heard that the dangerous Rapid known by that name lies on the northern or English branch of the St Lawrence, whereas we came on the American side of the channel, of which the navigation is much less formidable. What we did see was sufficiently so, it is true; but it was mortifying to think, that besides missing the principal sight, we had summoned up our fortitude only to waste it on a minor adventure.

We now entered Lake St Francis, an extensive sheet of water, one of a numerous series which

lie along the course of the River, but make no show on the map, though well entitled to be called Lakes. The St Lawrence, indeed, in its time, plays many parts. At one stage it is smooth and glassy, and finds its way without the least discernible current, being widened, as in this instance, into a sort of sea, with low land all round, which by no effort of the imagination can be made to seem a part of a river; for it rests calm and still like a bowl filled up to the brim. Yet within a mile of such a place we find it tumbling and tearing along in the shape of Rapids, over a broken bed between high banks;—while at others, abreast of Brockville, for example, it glides past in a majestic current of three or four miles an hour, the very beau ideal of an American river realized. Each person will choose, according to his taste, what he likes best, and there is surely abundance of variety; for, without any great stretch of fancy, we may include, as parts of the St Lawrence, all the upper Lakes, the Falls and Rapids of Niagara, as well as the huge fresh-water ocean of Ontario.

I took notice, that as the sun went down, the clouds collected slowly, but ominously, in the south-west, and for some time gradually towered higher and higher one above the other; while a dirty, watery tinge was spread over all the rest of the sky. Notwithstanding the lesson I had been taught, on

the subject of interference, I felt it right to hint to the principal boatman that I did not much like the look of the weather; but, as he and his companions declared there was nothing threatening in these appearances, and as they had put my weather wisdom to shame a couple of nights before, I reluctantly gave way, and allowed them to sail past Cornwall, our intended stopping place, and to proceed straight on through Lake St Francis. As the wind freshened when the night closed in, the Canadians, beginning to distrust their own predictions, reduced their sail, and held frequent broken consultations with one another. I was startled by these symptoms of distrust, and told them to mind what they were about. But, as we had passed our port, and were fairly in the open lake, I saw it was useless to say more, especially as I knew nothing of this peculiar kind of navigation, and was ignorant of what these boats could do in bad weather, or what description of management they required.

In the meantime, as it was evident, happen what would, that we were destined to pass the night in the Batteau, we made up the travelling bed for the child, and in three minutes she was fast asleep, notwithstanding the melancholy howling of the coming storm. This was fortunate; for ere long, the rising wind, and the high sea, which soon got

up, made such a racket, that had the poor child been awake when the gale came on, she must have remained so during all the scenes which followed.

The boatmen soon became alarmed, and not altogether without reason; for the night was dark, and the lightning, which flashed quicker and quicker, made matters look still more dismal.

The breeze freshened every minute, till at length, upon a few ominous drops of rain falling on our faces, I could discover well enough, by the altered tone of the Voyageurs, that they knew mischief was brewing. By and by, accordingly, a furious squall came rattling up astern, and for a little while we continued spinning along, nearly before the wind, with the mast bending like a bow, and the curtains of the hurricane-house fluttering about our ears, and cracking like a split main-top sail.

The steersman, finding he had little command of his vessel, ordered the sail to be lowered, but before his directions could be obeyed, the ungovernable Batteau was brought smartly by the lee; and as we rounded to, the yard or stretcher of the sail broke with a startling crash—the more alarming as the gale, now that we had come to the wind, pressed upon us with double violence—and the confusion was augmented by the canvass flapping and tugging to get away from the mast. Our hurricane-house, being far aft in the boat, acted like a sail,

and in spite of all the steersman could do, prevented the boat's head from going off before the wind again,—a manœuvre now rendered absolutely necessary to our safety. The truth was, we had been carried close to an island, upon which the Batteau was drifting sideways.

I was at a loss what part it became me to take on this occasion, for there was a great appearance of confusion, much loud bawling, and instead of one captain, there appeared to be five. Notwithstanding what had passed on the first evening, I certainly should have put in my word as the sixth commanding officer in this scene, and tried to bring the rest to order, had I perceived any thing done that ought to have been left alone, or any thing omitted that could help us out of the scrape. But as every thing seemed to be correctly performed, notwithstanding the total absence of the usual symptoms of discipline, I thought it wiser to let the confusion work itself clear; or, at all events, to wait till something obviously wrong should be attempted.

The female party in the cabin were but half reassured by my declarations, that all was going on as well as could be expected, and our excellent attendant, quite forgetting her own danger, kept wondering and wondering—as well she might!—how the infant could possibly sleep through it all.

I don't pretend that I was very comfortable myself, while things remained in this predicament; or that I was not much relieved when the Batteau's head gradually yielded to the efforts of several additional oars brought over the lee-quarter to assist the steersman. As soon as the wind was far enough aft to give the boat head-way, she shot quickly round the eastern end of the island—to which we passed so close, that we might have tossed a biscuit on shore—and in one instant we exchanged the gale, which was now blowing pretty violently, and the rough sea in which we had been plunging and rolling, for a dead calm, and a smooth pool of water, in a nook, sheltered behind the point of land. The boatmen leaped gaily on the beach, and though it rained hard, soon managed to light a fire, not so much for the purpose of warming themselves, as to cook a fish, killed during the day by a thump of one of the oars, as it lay sleeping on the surface of the river.

The rain, we supposed, would soon penetrate our canvass roof, and we made up our minds accordingly. But our tenfold dread was, that we should be devoured by mosquitoes, whose favourite spot on all the St Lawrence, we suspected must be this little cove. Mercifully, not a single one came near us all night; and, what was still more unlooked for, though it rained frequently in heavy thunder-

showers, no water came through—and I am not sure that we had passed a better night since entering Canada, than we did in this boat—with the worst possible promise.

As the day dawned we left our comfortable night's quarters, and sailed along Lake St Francis, with a light westerly wind, the only remaining trace of the preceding night's tempest;—for the sky was now clear from the zenith to the horizon, and the surface of the stream, if stream it can be termed, which scarcely moved at all, was unbroken by the slightest ripple, or even the faintest indication of a swell. Such is the hasty temper of these American river-lakes,—up in a moment, down again as soon!

CHAPTER XIII.

We reached Montreal on the 11th of August, 1827; and after visiting several places in the neighbourhood, proceeded on the 23d, by steam, down the St Lawrence to Quebec.

One of the trips which we made from Montreal was up the river Ottawa, a stream which has a classical place in every one's imagination from Moore's Canadian Boat song; and I shall certainly not destroy, by any attempt at description, the images which that exquisite composition must have left on the mind.

By one of those pieces of fortune which are combined of good luck and good management, we fell in with Captain Franklin just at the moment of his return from his journey, and before he had discharged the Voyageurs, fourteen in number, who had brought him in one of the Hudson's Bay company's canoes from Fort William, on Lake Superior, and down the Ottawa to its confluence with

the St Lawrence near La Chine on the island of Montreal, a distance of fourteen hundred miles. He invited us to take a morning's excursion with him on the St Lawrence and on the Ottawa; and of course we were enchanted to visit such places in such company.

I had often before seen small canoes paddled by a couple of Indians, but it was a very different thing to feel oneself flying along in this grand barge, as it might be called, nearly forty feet long, by upwards of five in width. She was urged forward at the rate of nearly six miles an hour, by fourteen first-rate and well-practised Canadian Voyageurs. As the velocity of these canoes has been a frequent matter of dispute, Dr Richardson and I afterwards measured a base on the shore, and by several experiments, satisfied ourselves that the greatest speed was under six miles an hour. Strictly, 5 statute miles, and 87 hundredths.

Each Voyageur wields a short, light paddle, with which he strikes the water about once in a second, keeping strict time with a song from one of the crew, in which all the others join in chorus. At every stroke of the fourteen paddles, which in fact resemble one blow, such is the correctness of their ear, the canoe is thrown or jerked forward so sharply, that it is by no means easy to sit upright

on the cloaks and cushions spread nearly in its centre.

While, with the true spirit of a master, the great poet above alluded to has retained all that is essentially characteristic and pleasing in these boat songs, and rejected all that is not so, he has contrived, with the skill and taste so peculiarly his own, to borrow the loftiest inspiration from numerous surrounding circumstances, presenting nothing remarkable to the dull senses of ordinary travellers. Yet these highly poetical images, drawn in this way, as it were carelessly, and from every hand, he has combined with such graphic—I had almost said geographical truth,—that the effect is great, even upon those who have never, with their own eyes, seen the "Utawa's tide,"—nor "flown down the Rapids,"—nor heard the "bell of St Anne's toll its evening chime;" while the same lines give to distant regions, previously consecrated in our imagination, a vividness of interest when viewed on the spot, of which it is difficult to say how much is due to the magic of the poetry, and how much to the beauty of the real scene.

It is on these occasions that the poet's fancy, by linking together such scenery and such verse, best knows how to draw all the world in his train, as willing worshippers of his genius.

"Faintly as tolls the evening chime,
Our voices keep tune, and our oars keep time
* * *
Utawa's tide! this trembling moon
Shall see us float o'er thy surges soon.
Saint of this green isle, hear our prayers,
O! grant us cool heavens and favouring airs:
Blow, breezes, blow! the stream runs fast,
The Rapids are near, and the day light's past!"

—Lines so beautiful, that no use, or abuse, has ever been able to render them commonplace!

I am tempted further to transcribe part of the note which Mr Moore appended to the publication of this song at its *first* appearance, because, while I know by experience that his prose descriptions are strictly true to the feelings which those scenes excite, they are scarcely less poetical in thought and expression than the song itself.

"I remember," says this accomplished traveller, "when we have entered at sunset upon one of those beautiful lakes into which the St Lawrence so grandly and unexpectedly opens, I have heard this simple air with a pleasure which the finest compositions of the first masters have never given me; and now, there is not a note of it which does not recall to my memory the dip of our oars in the St Lawrence, the flight of our boat down the Rapids, and all those new and fanciful impressions to which my heart was alive during the whole of this very interesting voyage."

It was singularly gratifying to discover, in con-

nexion with the thoughts awakened by these reflections, that to this hour the Canadian Voyageurs never omit their offerings to the shrine of St Anne before engaging in any enterprise; and that during its performance, they omit no opportunity of keeping up so propitious an intercourse. The flourishing village which surrounds the church on the "Green Isle" in question, owes its existence and support entirely to these pious contributions. Captain Franklin pointed out to us one of the Canadians of his own party, who had accompanied him during the whole of his adventurous journey, and who was so deeply impressed with the importance of this sacred duty, that when on the most northern coast of America, not less than two thousand miles from the spot, he requested an advance of wages, that an additional offering might be transmitted, by the hands of a friend, to the shrine of his tutelar Saint.

I suspect that our recent intercourse with Niagara, and the many wild and curious scenes in the interior of Upper Canada, together with our descent of the Rapids, must have spoiled us in some degree for the ordinary business of life, and made scenes and circumstances look very tame, which, if taken in the reverse order, might have proved highly amusing. I find it difficult otherwise to account for the languid interest with which we set

about viewing the great and busy town of Montreal, or the indifference which I struggled in vain to throw off, as to the politics of Lower Canada, although the topic was then swallowing up every other consideration. An election was going on in the city, and now and then there was a row in the streets, not unworthy of Covent Garden, where the public-spirited voters sometimes love to vindicate the freedom of election, by trying to knock out the unpopular candidate's brains. The boys kept scampering up and down the streets, bawling out Pappinau! Pappinau! while the walls were chalked and placarded at every corner with "Pappinau pour toujours!" and there were sundry processions through the town by mobs, which cheered one party and hissed the other, in the most approved style of party manners.

Nevertheless, even although I had access to the best informed company on both sides, and had the farther advantage of forming an acquaintance with some of the most zealous of the opposition party, I could never bring myself to take any very sincere interest in these local questions. Every body, indeed, appeared so perfectly contented, and all that I could see, hear, or read about the Province, showed the inhabitants to be in the enjoyment, practically speaking, of such numerous and substantial blessings, political and domestic, that I

found it impossible to sympathize deeply in their speculative misery, when, in point of fact, they possessed, as it appeared to me, every thing that rational men could desire, and more, perhaps, than any other country in the world.

Possibly, had I studied the subject more attentively, I might have found my ideas changed; and, although I am half ashamed of not having done so, I regret it the less, from observing that the subject has lately been taken up by the House of Commons, and has been investigated with a minuteness which it was utterly impossible I could have found time for, and under circumstances much more advantageous than any within my reach, even when on the spot. So that a reference to the Parliamentary Report, and to the Evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, ordered to be printed on the 22d of July, 1828, will afford, as far as I am able to judge, much fuller information than any I could have brought away with me, had I been ever so industrious.

It was my intention, however, notwithstanding the appearance of this Report and Evidence, to have inserted at this place a sketch of the discussions alluded to; but I have thought it right to suppress it, in consequence of the recent changes in that quarter, and the disposition which really appears to exist on both sides, to start afresh, to turn over a

new leaf, and to join cordially in advancing the prosperity of a country so highly gifted by nature and by fortune.

The navigation of the St Lawrence, as far as Montreal, is performed by ships as well as by boats, there being no Rapids or other obstructions, except here and there some shoals and winding passages, where the sand and mud brought down by the Ottawa, and other streams, have gradually been deposited in some of those openings or lakes already mentioned; in which places the current is so gentle, that it has no longer strength enough to carry along these washings of the upper country.

We reached Quebec on the 26th of August, in time to take a long walk round the works. I never remember being more sensible how fertile a source of mortification it is to a traveller to have no means of describing with accuracy some of those things with which he becomes so easily acquainted. It thus often happens, perversely enough, that during the moments of the highest travelling gratification, a pang of disappointment comes across him and mars half his pleasure.

We had been plagued for so long a time with flat countries, generally tame, and without features of any boldness, that our eyes rested with satisfaction upon the graceful ranges of mountains

in the north, piled high upon one another, and receding far back into the interior. The main outline of these ranges, though generally undulating, was not without touches of asperity here and there, which, by their abruptness, gave a tone of decision, or of spirit, to the scenery in the northern and eastern directions. This was still more remarkable as the sun went down, by which the successive ridges were deprived of light one after the other, and many of the valleys between them —entirely unseen in the full glare of daylight— became conspicuous by the deep masses of shade which pointed out their situations.

The foreground, or, more properly speaking, the middle distance of the prospect in the north-eastern quarter, in the direction of the left bank of the river looking towards the sea, consisted of many leagues of land, cultivated almost like a garden, along a gentle slope, rising out of the St Lawrence, which here resembles, what in fact it may almost be called, an arm of the sea. The first or lower range of hills was marked at about one third, or one quarter of its height, by a broad and nearly continuous line of white houses, interspersed with fruit trees, and rows of poplars, tall church steeples, and many other symptoms of proximity to a "towered city." The much-frequented road to the Falls of Montmorency passed through this

populous suburb. But the Falls themselves were not distinguishable from Quebec, although the mouth of the ravine down which the river flows could be seen.

More to the east lay the great Island of Orleans, dividing the river into two channels. The tide was ebbing when we first arrived, and then the St Lawrence had there all the appearance of a river. But when the flood made, shortly afterwards, the water changed its direction, and gushed upwards with great velocity between the narrow gorge in the estuary, formed on the south by Point Levi, a wooded range of moderate height, and on the north by the rocky promontory on the extreme point of which Quebec is built, surmounted by the impregnable citadel of Cape Diamond, which again overlooks the well-known plains of Abraham.

Just abreast of the town, at the commencement of this narrow place, a crowd of shipping were lying at anchor, with their sterns turned up the stream, and their flags blowing out to sea with the breeze from the west. Boats of all descriptions speckled the whole harbour and the bay, as far as we could see, and, according as they were near the high shore or far off, they fell within, or escaped the shadows of the hills, which were now extending themselves, in long dark patches, over the surface

of the water from west to east. Some of these boats were under sail, but most of them were rowing backwards and forwards, in very lively style, round a great lumbering steam ferry-boat, the deck of which presented a dense mass of heads, crossing and recrossing from the town to Point Levi.

We saw all this from the verandah of the chateau, or government-house, which, perched on the very edge of a perpendicular precipice, several hundred feet high, completely overlooks the Lower Town, as it is called. I wish I could give a picture of this extraordinary mass of confusion, which is quite as irregular in shape, height, position, and colour, as many of the extravagant parts of the Old Town of Edinburgh. The roofs are very steep, being so constructed that the snow may be shelved off in winter; but are stuck full of storm-windows, galleries, platforms, cupolas, and every kind of projection—really a very singular spectacle. About one quarter of these strangely jumbled abodes are covered at top with sheet-tin, and some of them have their walls also plated in this manner. But the greater number are roofed after the ordinary fashion of American houses, with wooden shingles—and every house is painted, to protect it, I presume, from the violent heat of the sun in summer. Be this as it may, the effect of the whole is very lively.

Few things are more fatiguing than sight-seeing, or what is called seeing the lions, except, perhaps, going into company when quite worn out with the said duties. At least, I have often sighed with much bitterness of spirit when, after a long day of travelling, or any other kind of exercise, I have commenced the more passive, but far more irksome toil of conversing, when all my ideas were fled.

I remember one evening, at Quebec, going to a party, where, if the honest, though perhaps uncivil truth, must be told, I was employed, for the first hour, in the most laborious, but often ineffectual attempts to keep myself awake, in spite of the good-humour, and the hospitality by which I was surrounded. The learned conversation of a highly informed clergyman was not more effectual, I am ashamed to say, in keeping me from nid-nid-nodding! At length, a military friend, perhaps discovering the predicament I was in, tried to rouse me by asking some questions, I forget what, about Loo Choo, or Cape Horn—new topics. This caused me to open one eye pretty wide, and to answer in a manner, I fear, not very germain to the matter: but the other optic hung low down still, and refused to budge, though I was pulling the lid up with all my might. At this unhappy juncture, for I was fully conscious of my own irremediable

drowsiness, the servant opened the door, and in flew a bat.

In one moment all the room was in an uproar; my two companions fled—Church and State abandoned me—one lady made a run for the door, and was out of sight in a twinkling; twenty voices were opened at once on the poor little wretch, who was at last whisked to the floor by the corner of an artilleryman's pocket handkerchief; after which, the whole party, for some minutes, were absorbed in the capture and examination of the intruder. For my part, I felt so grateful to the little fellow for rescuing me from the arms of the drowsy God, into which I had been fast falling, that I pleaded hard against his being imprisoned under a tumbler, "to see how he would look in daylight," and the door which led to the flower-garden being thrown open, the gentleman with the sooty wings was launched into the chilly air of a Canadian August night. This adventure having attracted us abroad, we were rewarded by the sight of a magnificent Aurora Borealis—not flitting about as usual, but steadily glowing in a great arch, extending from North-west to North-east, and serving, in the absence of the moon, which had retired an hour before, to illuminate all the country round. As we drove home, we could even see the meteor, or

whatever else it be, reflected, quite distinctly, in the broad bosom of the St Lawrence.

There certainly is a sort of divinity which fixes itself in Capitals, all over the world, as contradistinguished, I mean, from Provincial Towns. The offices of hospitality to strangers, it is said, are sometimes not so well attended to there, in consequence, perhaps, of the great numbers, as in places more remote. But this is generally the traveller's fault, not that of the Capital, where, undoubtedly, if he have proper introductions, and manage well in other respects, he will generally find more to repay him than if he had travelled ten times as long in other parts of the country. Besides which, there is always found in the chief city of every country much of that "ease, which marks security to please," and all the forms of daily life are gone through without effort, or any of that cumbersome kind of awkwardness which we often see elsewhere, but which is unknown at head-quarters. Accordingly, our stay at Quebec was very agreeable, and, had not that city been already described, and over described, I might venture to try my hand upon so interesting a topic. In the meantime, I shall pass on to a visit we paid to the country amongst the French peasantry, who form the mass of the population in Lower Canada.

We left Quebec at half past nine in the morn-

ing of the 28th of August, and after an hour and a half's drive, came to the river Montmorency, over which there had been a bridge, that about six weeks before had tumbled down, and what was absurd enough, there seemed every probability of its remaining down six weeks longer; though an active carpenter with some twenty labourers, might easily have put it up again, and made it passable for carriages in two days. I never saw any country where these sort of things appeared to move so slowly as in Canada.

I don't know what the Falls of Montmorency may be in the rainy season, but certainly when we saw them—I speak it advisedly, as the newspapers say—nothing could be more contemptible. In winter, I am told, a cone or sugar loaf of enormous magnitude is formed on the rocks at the base of the Falls by the continued addition of ice and snow. In summer, however, there is little to repay the trouble of a visit. Though, to be sure, it is very possible, that Niagara had spoiled us for every other waterfall.

But if the natural beauties disappointed us, the smiling works of man, and the still more smiling looks of the black-eyed French-looking women, and the nice clean lively children, with great broad straw hats, delighted us all the way from Quebec to St Anne's—a distance of twenty-five or thirty

miles through a country very densely peopled, where the houses lie close to the road—each with its narrow strip of cultivation behind it, fenced off in parallel lines. Nothing we had yet seen in America could pretend to rival these white-washed cottages, capped with sharp-pointed tin-covered roofs, all very fantastic and old-fashioned. The lintels of the doors and the sills and sides of the windows, also, were painted black, with steps or tiers of flower-pots ranged along them, behind railings matted with creepers in full blossom, so as to make us feel as if we were in Italy or in the south of France.

I need hardly say, that nothing like a tavern is to be seen in this primitive part of the country; but we were most kindly lodged, on moderate terms, in a comfortable French farm-house;—a neat stone mansion, very clean, and well ordered. The kitchen, or outer room, was warmed in winter, they told us, by an immense fire-place, in the partition wall between it and the principal apartment; but besides this, nearly in the centre of the kitchen, or public apartment, there stood a large iron box, like the money chest of some wealthy merchant. I was at a loss to conceive what it could be, and, after making a circuit of the unknown object, begged to know what it was. "Ah, Monsieur," said the kind hostess, "you have not

wintered in Canada, or you would not ask what this is for," patting the box with her hand. She then explained that this was the stove, from which the pipes, or flues, and other appendages, were removed in summer, which gave it the appearance of a chest. "Were it not for this little fellow," she continued, playfully, "we should all die of cold here."

Besides this lumbering but essential piece of furniture, the kitchen contained substantial wooden sofas, painted sky blue, grouped with great chests of drawers, and about a dozen old-fashioned, rudely-carved arm-chairs, the seats of which consisted of thongs made of the tough bull hide; more comfortable from their elasticity, than elegant in their appearance.

The inner apartments, reserved for show, or for the accommodation of chance tourists like ourselves, were more gaily tricked out with glossy furniture—cupboards, sparkling with china-ware and crystal, and walls gorgeous with mirrors, so uneven, however, in their surfaces, that I was fain to relieve my eyes by turning to the pictures of Virgins, martyrs, and crucifixions, suspended round the chamber, in company with a grand series of coloured prints, representing the life and adventures of that celebrated reprobate, L'ENFANT PRODIGUE—the Prodigal Son—a history which, by a

strange perversion of its original import, has, I fear, sent almost as many wild chaps on their land travels, as the voyages of Robinson Crusoe are said to have lured incorrigible runagates to sea. Be this as it may, there is surely more excitement to mischief, to say the least of it, in the picture which in the French edition bears the title of "L'Extravagance dans l'excés," than is counteracted by the lesson of degradation in the next, which represents our friend in the act of feeding pigs;—especially when the balance is again turned in his favour, by the goodly feasting at the close, to the no small surprise, and not very unreasonable indignation, of the good honest soul of an elder brother, who has been plodding hard at the plough in the back ground, during the wicked galivantings of Signor Scamp!

After a well-dressed dinner served in the same agreeable style with every thing else, we took a stroll for an hour or two amongst the houses in the neighbourhood. These good people—the Jeans Baptistes, as the French peasantry in Canada are familiarly called—chatted quite pleasantly with us, for no persons could be better bred, more cheerful, or apparently more happy, than they seemed to be in their comfortable little cottages. They spoke French exclusively, and told us that the whole inhabitants of the districts we had passed through, were tenants of the great landed proprietors, to

whom they paid rent, and they all declared they wished for no changes of any kind. Happy mortals!

As we walked through the enclosures, we heard people singing in different quarters, and though we saw no dancing, there was every appearance of hilarity and contentment, untarnished by any thing like poverty or wretchedness.

We took a long sleep next day, the 29th of August, though I suspect most tourists in our place would have been up, and brushing away the morning dew by half past five or six o'clock. But we lay snoosing very snugly to our good landlady's infinite surprise, for she had been accustomed, she said, to see people always in a hurry. For my part, I have found by experience, that as it is not possible to see every thing that is worth seeing in a foreign country, any more than it is possible to read every book which is worth studying in a library, there is generally more eventual profit in viewing a few things well, than in running over a great number slightly. This, however, is not always literally true; for it will sometimes happen in travelling, that many things come in the way, of which a single glance is sufficient to convey much lasting pleasure and information; but, in the long run, the maxim will hold good, which recommends a careful notice of a few things only.

At all events, be the philosophy of this as it

may, there is certainly more satisfaction in taking one's morning nap before setting out, than in rising with the stupid cocks who have nothing else to do but crow. Besides which considerations, there is always ample daylight to wear out our strength if we choose to push human nature to the utmost limits. So that we leisurely travellers—who despise and abhor the idea of "getting over a stage before breakfast"—in the end, do just as much as your early stirring folks; with this difference, that we make the journey a pleasure—they a toil.

The grand mistake, however, into which most people fall, is the obligation which they bring upon themselves of seeing a certain set of objects, and taking it for granted, that in the mere act of making out a visit to these things, the whole duty of man consists. Now it has long appeared to me, and I acted upon this principle in the present journey, that these said local wonders, of which every spot, alas! has abundance, are merely accessaries to the general end of amusement or instruction—not principals to which every thing else is to give way.

Our nominal object, for example, on the day in question, was to see the Falls of St Anne; but because that was the specific name which the jaunt bore, was our night's rest to be thrown away? Were we to snatch hasty cold meals, or scald our

throats with boiling tea, instead of doing such business at leisure, merely because a waterfall was to be seen? Would it not wait? Were we to wear and tear ourselves to pieces, to say nothing of the panting drivers and horses, in order to scamper to a place, and scamper back again, by a given minute, for no earthly reason but because other tourists generally accomplish the same distance in the same interval? In short, is it wise, at any time, to grasp at a parcel of shadows, and miss so many of the substantial pleasures of travelling? Surely it is an improvement upon this cockneyfied method of moving over the earth's surface, to jog pleasantly along, making ourselves happy with the ordinary allowance of sleep, and of company, and all quietly; then superadding, afterwards, as so much clear gain, what pleasures are to be picked up from the contemplation of the dragons and giants which fortune directs to our path, without making travelling Knights Errant of ourselves, and tilting at every thing good or bad.

But to travel in this leisurely style, you must keep yourselves to yourselves, and shun, as you would that of an evil spirit, the assistance of guides, chaperons, or companions, and above all, that of well-informed friends. Had we been accompanied, for example, on our excursion to St Anne's by any of the very pleasant and obliging people of Quebec,

to whom every foot of the ground is well known, what a fuss they would have been in, on finding their victim was only beginning to think of shaving two hours after he ought, by their reckoning, to have been under all sail on the mountain's side, and half way to the Falls, in full cry after the picturesque! These fidgets would have been still more intolerable to themselves and to us, if they had seen us wasting our time gossiping with the natives—after a long, desultory sort of breakfast—instead of packing up our sketch-books and journals, as if all nature was running away from us.

On the 30th of August, we accompanied a picnic party from Quebec to the village of Lorette, inhabited chiefly by Huron Indians, a tribe rapidly melting away under the combined action of civilisation and whisky. They very kindly got up a dance in our presence, and accompanied themselves with cries and gesticulations sufficiently savage to establish their aboriginal identity.

Next day we crossed to the right bank of the St Lawrence, and visited the Chaudiere or Kettle Falls, so called, I believe, in consequence of a number of holes worn by the stream in the surface of the rocks, into the shape of pots and pans. Be this as it may, the river happened to be so low, that there was nothing in the way of cascade to be seen; and upon the whole, we felt a mali-

cious satisfaction at the circumstance, for we were beginning to get rather tired of waterfalls. Independently of which, it is sometimes quite a relief to be spared the pain of inexpressible admiration.

CHAPTER XIV.

BEFORE taking a final leave of the British North American Provinces, I think it right to say a few words in answer to two questions that have frequently been put to me both in America and at home.

"Of what use are these Colonies to England?"

"Of what use is England to the Colonies?"

A complete answer to such important questions would lead me into greater length than I at present contemplate, and might probably carry me beyond my depth; for I had not a full opportunity of examining this important topic on the spot. The following sketch, however, may help to direct the enquiries of persons who have leisure to pursue the subject further.

In order to show that the Colonies in question are of great value to England in a maritime and commercial point of view, it is only necessary to mention the fact, that, in the year 1828, out of

the two millions of tons of shipping which entered the several ports of the United Kingdom, (strictly, 2,094,357,) upwards of four hundred thousand tons, (strictly, 400,841,) or more than one-fifth of the whole, were from the North American Colonies, and exclusively British.*

At present, we enjoy not only the privilege of supplying the Provinces with English goods, but through them, it is generally believed, a large and increasing quantity of our manufactures are introduced into the United States. It is utterly impossible, indeed, for the government of that country, or that of England, to prevent, or even seriously to check, such importations, as long as British vessels have free access to the ports of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada.

Independently of this extensive outlet for the manufactured goods of England, the intercourse carried on between those Colonies and Great Britain employed, in the year 1828, no fewer than eighteen thousand seven hundred and fourteen seamen. (18,714.)

In the same year, 1828, the total amount of British tonnage employed in trading with the United States was but little more than eighty thousand, (strictly, 80,158,) and the number of seamen em-

* Parliamentary Paper, ordered to be printed on the 5th of May, 1829, No. 197.

ployed was three thousand six hundred and forty-six, (3646.) So that our trade with the North American Colonies alone, occupied five times as much tonnage, and more than five times as many British seamen, as the whole of the intercourse which we enjoyed in our own ships with the United States.

I know that it has been often urged, that the export of British goods to the United States is infinitely greater now than it was to the Colonies before they revolted—and so undoubtedly it is. But people who make a stand on this position, omit two considerations.

Judging from the progress made by Nova Scotia, Canada, and the other remaining provinces, since they have been admitted to a thorough commercial companionship with the Mother Country, it is no more than fair to infer, that if the old Colonies, now forming the United States, had been originally treated in the same liberal spirit, they might never have deemed it their interest to withdraw from their allegiance. At this hour, therefore, they might have been, if not equally populous, perhaps more prosperous than they now are. Such, at least, is my own deliberate opinion, after having viewed both countries.

The other consideration which people are apt to forget, is, that however great the mere export of

our goods to the United States may be, every art is used by that country to discourage their carriage by British shipping. In spite of the doctrine of reciprocity, I could very seldom discover an English flag in the forest of masts at New York. What is the cause, I do not exactly know—such is the fact, and the documents just quoted show the result.

A similar, or rather a much greater loss, of one of the largest and best of our nurseries for seamen, would therefore inevitably be sustained by the defection of these Colonies. And I have no hesitation in expressing my belief, that this one consideration alone outweighs, by many degrees, the whole expenses incurred by us in maintaining the provinces.

By means of our present relations with those countries, we command, under all circumstances, a great variety of useful supplies of timber, naval stores, fish, and other articles, not only for ourselves, but for the important colonies in the West Indies, most of which we might in time of war be obliged to procure at a great disadvantage elsewhere, if we no longer possessed the North American Provinces.

These are a few of the direct benefits arising to us from the Colonies;—but the indirect ones are still more important.

It seems to be a pretty general opinion, that there are only two alternatives for the Provinces in question;—one is, to remain in connexion with the Mother Country,—the other, to merge into the Mare Magnum of the American Confederation. The probability of their forming themselves into a separate, independent nation, is seldom dwelt upon, and is hardly to be contemplated.

The maritime resources of the United States at present are limited, by climate and other circumstances, almost exclusively to those parts of the ocean which lie on the Atlantic coast, to the northward and eastward of the Delaware; and although these are no doubt very important, and daily increasing, they are inconsiderable in comparison with those furnished by the coasts of the British Provinces. The American maritime line does not embrace above one-third of the distance that ours occupies; it possesses no single port or bay—not even New York—to compare, in a naval point of view, with Halifax, and various other harbours of British North America, into which the largest line-of-battle ships can sail at all times of the year, and at all times of tide. It must also be recollected, that the climate of the Southern States is not suited to the production of hardy seamen; while the Western Section of the country, where the popu-

lation is making the greatest strides, brings forward few of the essential attributes of a navy.

The fishermen, and other thorough-bred seamen, who crowd the shores of the British Provincial line of coast, are, numerically speaking, considerably greater than those of the American shore alluded to. And I have the best authority for stating, that these men are not only eminently loyal to England, but heartily desirous of maintaining the union inviolate. Indeed, both they, and their superiors in riches and station in the Colonies, have abundant reason, as I shall endeavour to show by and by, for being sincere in these professions.

The idea, that the United States can obtain possession of these provinces by conquest, against the will of the inhabitants, is totally out of the question. If the Colonists had substantial reason to be dissatisfied with the Mother Country, such a contingency might perhaps begin to be thought of; but as long as they are treated as they have been for some years past, they must continue to be fully as impregnable as any part of the Parent State. Besides which, the genius and practical structure of the American Government are such, as to render that country entirely unfit to engage in offensive hostile enterprises. The militia of the Provinces, even putting the assistance of regular troops out of the question, is in every respect as

good as that of their neighbours; and when fighting on their own soil, they would be equally difficult to subdue. With a small additional assistance, therefore, from us, and supposing the Colonists to be thoroughly loyal, which I believe they are, and am certain they have good reason to be, any chance of foreign conquest is altogether visionary. Every day that the present friendly Colonial policy is persevered in, they will find more and more reason to be stanch and true to themselves, and to us, besides discovering more reason to rejoice that they are not what is called Independent—a term which, if we analyze it closely, we shall commonly find a great misnomer.

If, however, we suppose the British Colonies added to the American Union, the whole face of maritime affairs in that Republic would at once be changed. I do not now ask whether such a change would, or would not, be for the better, as respects either of the parties concerned on that side of the water; but there can be little doubt it would be a matter of serious consequence to England, to find the naval resources of the United States trebled, if not quadrupled, at a blow,—while our own would be diminished, if not exactly in the same ratio, certainly to an amount which, I am sure, if stated fairly, would induce many persons, who at present think lightly of the Colonies, to consider

them as much more important possessions than they are now supposed to be.

We must never forget that the 'cheap defence of nations' is not to be balanced like a merchant's accounts—so many pounds debtor, and so many pounds creditor. We must look deeper into our transactions, and not think alone of what we expend, but of what we keep. And who is bold enough to say, that if, for the sake of a comparatively trivial saving of money, we relinquish these noble colonies, we shall not essentially weaken the foundations of the wooden wall which is proverbially the safeguard of our island? Besides all these considerations, I may just hint in passing, that the tenure by which we hold the West India Islands, which employ nearly three hundred thousand tons of British shipping, and fifteen thousand seamen, annually, would be greatly weakened by the abstraction of these northern Provinces, from which their chief supplies are derived. Neither do I say any thing of the Newfoundland or Labrador fisheries, those prolific nurseries of seamen; because their advantages are now shared by the Americans and by the French. Yet it should not be forgotten, that, if the British Provinces were to become members of the American Union, it is more than doubtful whether these important maritime advantages would be any longer shared by foreign nations.

I shall only further observe, on this point, that the British Provinces are just emerging from a state of infancy, or rather of youth,—that their numbers are rapidly increasing,—and that their demands for English goods are more than keeping pace with the increase of numbers, in consequence of their more enlarged tastes and greater desire for refinements, which have been fostered under a good government, and which may be expected to expand still more rapidly under the wise changes recently introduced into the Colonial administration. These rapidly increasing wants, it must be recollected, give constant employment to whole fleets of British ships, afford a vent for English manufactures of almost boundless extent, and tend to bind all parties more closely together.

The benefit arising to England from having so ready an outlet for her surplus population as these Colonies afford, is so familiar to every one, that it need not be dwelt upon. Whatever be its amount, one thing is clear,—the advantage of emigration is more than equally shared by the Colonies. It would certainly be a source of mortification to us, to see all our emigrating fellow-subjects relinquish their allegiance, and become citizens of another country. At present, however, we have the satisfaction to think that the great body of the emigrants who leave our shores, not only remain loyal

and true to us in the Provinces, but become a source of wealth and political strength to those important outworks of the Empire—redoubts, as they may be called in the language of Fortification, by which the traverses of the besiegers are kept at a respectable distance from the citadel.

Under judicious management, therefore, on the part of the Mother Country, these important Colonies, which are becoming more important every hour, may not only be made more useful, as nominal dependencies, but, in a negative point of view, —as politically detached from the United States,— even still more valuable to us.

In answering the second interrogatory, "Of what use is England to the Colonies?" I shall confine myself to a few of the leading advantages.

In the first place, we must always recollect, that however loyal the inhabitants of the Colonies may be, and I conscientiously believe they really are so at this moment, it would be childish, or rather symptomatic of dotage in us, to expect they would be averse to severing the connexion, if their happiness and prosperity as nations were to be increased by such a separation. Individuals, no doubt, would be found there, and probably in great numbers, as there always are in revolutions, who, from a stern sense of loyal duty, would nail their colours to the mast, and sink or swim with the for-

tunes of the cause under which they have been bred, and either succeed or be ruined as British subjects. Nationally speaking, however, these matters are never regulated by such feelings, but, like most other things in this world, by expediency; and I think it may easily be shown, that if the English administration maintain the same enlightened policy which they have observed during the last few years towards the Colonies, the real interests, and with them the cordial good-will, of the inhabitants will be secured, as long as we choose to maintain the alliance; for nothing, I fully believe, but our own indiscretion, can ever urge them to court a union with any other power. The cards, to use a common expression, are completely in our hands, and we have only to play them well, to secure all the advantages which it is possible to hope for. The secret of the game, which is quite simple, may always be found. It consists exclusively in consulting, in good faith, the genuine interests of the Colonies; for, be these what they may, they can by no possibility fail, in the long run, to be ours likewise. The same rules which bind man and man together, will, undoubtedly, apply in every case to nations, though, in the instance of rival States, as they are called, this seems always difficult of accomplishment in practice, while in that of

Colony and Parent State, the application appears really very easy.

The terms 'Parent State,' and 'Mother Country,' are not, I think, very happily chosen; or, to speak more correctly, they have survived the period when they were appropriate. If a term, descriptive of the relations subsisting between a country and its colony, must be borrowed from domestic life, it occurs to me, that one which designates a still more binding tie might be applied; where, although the nominal supremacy is given to the party who by nature is physically the strongest, the alliance may, for all this distinction, be strictly mutual, and the advantages, to every practical intent and purpose, reciprocal.

When the British Provinces are compared with the United States, it is by no means too much to say, that the laws, which, in fact, are those of England, are out of all sight more steady; and, from that circumstance, besides many others, better administered. The independence of the Colonial judiciary is much greater, not, indeed, nominally, but in practice, for reasons which I shall have occasion to go into minutely in treating of this branch of the American government. As to personal freedom and the protection of property, therefore, the Colonists are, at least, equal to the Americans, and, I fully believe, much more secure.

The foundations of those powers which preserve social order, are certainly more stable and better organized in the Provinces than in the United States. Their rulers do not derive their authority from those over whom their power is to be exercised; they look up, and not down, for approbation, and can, therefore, use that authority with more genuine independence. This doctrine, of course, is scouted in the United States as altogether heterodox; but the Colonies, when prompted to compare their condition with that of their neighbours, I am quite certain, will never find cause to regret the distinctions which arise from this source; and that they feel this as they ought to do, I know by ample experience.

In the United States, places of power and eminence depend entirely upon popular caprice; and, consequently, the candidate must often submit, per force, to much that is repugnant to the best feelings of his nature. Where station depends for its continuance upon the fluctuating will of a giddy populace, it must be frequently bestowed without merit, and still more frequently be withdrawn without crime.

In the British Provinces, all situations of honour or profit are derived from the crown. They are no doubt sometimes bestowed on improper persons, and are obtained by improper means. But

can this be prevented by any human devices yet invented? Are such things prevented by the democratical institutions of the United States? After all, it is perhaps better to be subservient to a monarch than to a mob. If a man must condescend to smile in order to obtain a selfish end, it is probable his character will suffer less by bowing to one man above him, than by cringing to a thousand below.

In the Colonies, men are content to insist upon equality of rights, and their protection, without ever dreaming of the visionary doctrine of universal equality amongst persons or property. In looking about also for preferment, suited to their station and capacity, they are not obliged to stoop before they attempt to soar. Their flights, it may be said, are of no great elevation; but those who sincerely desire to reach the comparative eminence which the Provincial offices bestow, may, generally speaking, be convinced, that respectability of conduct, united with sufficient talent and industry for the due performance of public duties, will seldom fail to attract the attention of government; and when such men once gain the station to which they aspire, and which their knowledge and talents enable them to fill with utility, they are sure to retain their place, under a system of mutual confidence and proper responsibility, as long as they

comply conscientiously and diligently with the obligations imposed upon them.

Thus, all that influential class of men in the Colonies who are actuated by ambition, whether on the great or on the small scale, have little reason to wish an exchange of their present constitutions for those of the stormy democracy in their neighbourhood.

On the other hand, by means of the elective franchise, which is very generally enjoyed, the great bulk of the people retain in their own hands sufficient political influence to make them feel quite free and truly independent in the situation where nature has placed them. Happily, also, the exercise of their political rights does not interfere to any hurtful degree with their social duties, nor carry them at all out of their proper sphere of life.

Thus the community at large possess fully as much, if not more freedom, than their neighbours, while the best informed and ablest members of it have better, and incomparably more permanent and definite, stimulants to honest ambition than the same class of men in the United States. Neither is the peace of society disturbed by incessant contentions for temporary power, and the inhabitants of the Colonies are enabled to manage their internal affairs upon more uniform principles, be-

cause they are confided to the hands of experienced and able men. All this is arranged in direct defiance and ridicule, I admit, of the doctrine of universal equality; but, nevertheless, in a manner strictly conformable to the decrees of Providence, as far as they are made known to us by the lights of experience and plain common sense.

These advantages, and many others of a similar character, would immediately be lost to the Colonies, if their connexion with England were dissolved; and the conviction that this is true, has so firm a hold on every reflecting mind in those countries, that I feel confident of their not only confirming it more and more every day, but that they will seize every possible opportunity of assimilating their condition, and intertwining their fortunes still more with a nation, whose constitution has at all events the merit of working well, and whose prosperity seems to be at least equal to that of any other.

The colonists should bear in mind, that as they are really and truly British Subjects, they enjoy, in common with the natives of England, the privilege of trading from port to port anywhere in the Empire at large, which no other countries possess. Nor is this fair title to equal rights with ourselves any longer counterbalanced, as it was a few years ago, by impolitic restrictions upon their

intercourse with foreigners. Wherever they now choose to go, they carry along with them the very same privileges which are allowed to the natives of the Old Country, and like them reap all the benefit of treaties made between foreign nations and England. Thus they are as truly members of this powerful empire as we in Scotland are, and they can no more be oppressed or molested by any other nation than we can be. Meanwhile, they enjoy all the other advantages of Englishmen, without being called upon to share almost any of their burdens. The weight of taxation in every one of the British Colonies, is less than in any of the United States; while the whole expense of the general defence, and especially that of creating and maintaining a navy, and keeping up a series of powerful fortresses, is paid by England without our demanding any contribution from them.

The revenues which the Colonies derive from foreign trade, are applied by their own legislatures to the internal improvement of the respective provinces;—whereas, were they to become members of the American Confederacy, all such duties would be subjected to the control of the Congress at Washington—and every improvement then made, would be at the expense of direct taxation, from which they are now exempt. They should recollect, also, that in the event of a separation,

they would lose the enormous benefit they now derive from the duties on their timber and corn being much lower in England than those levied on the same, or even better commodities, coming from other countries. That we benefit by this, in the long run, even more than the Colonies do, I fully believe; but still the loss to them of such sources of profit would be immense, in case of the connexion being broken.

It is of the greatest importance, not only to England, but to the Colonies likewise, that, as an integral part of the extensive system very hastily sketched above, the Crown should retain a considerable share of influence in the very heart of those countries.

Were the salaries of the more important officers of government always paid by the Mother Country, her influence would, I think, be more secure, and consequently the happiness of the Colonies more permanent, than if she were to permit them to defray the whole expense of their civil list. There is little doubt, I believe, that they would assume that burden, if, unfortunately for themselves, as well as for us, they should be called upon to do so by the government at home.

After all, the trifling expense of a few of the civil officers in the North American provinces, together with the more serious, but equally ne-

cessary, expenditures for maintaining the military and naval defences, are amply overbalanced by the advantages derived from this connexion, whether they directly advance our commercial and political prosperity as a naval and manufacturing country, or whether they limit the maritime power of another nation whose interests are not very friendly to ours;—or lastly, but not least, whether they contribute to the prosperity of the Colonies themselves—children, or rather true and loyal consorts, of the country in whose sunshine they flourish, and in union with which they enjoy a degree of happiness far greater, and more secure, than any nominal independence can ever place within their reach.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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